

BANC  
MSS  
2005/170  
c  
BANC

*The Bancroft Library*

University of California • Berkeley









Regional Oral History Office  
The Bancroft Library

University of California  
Berkeley, California

University History Series

Charles Muscatine

THE LOYALTY OATH, THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, AND EDUCATION  
REFORMS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Interviews Conducted by  
Germaine LaBerge  
in 2000

Copyright © 2004 by The Regents of the University of California

Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of northern California, the West, and the nation. Oral history is a method of collecting historical information through tape-recorded interviews between a narrator with firsthand knowledge of historically significant events and a well-informed interviewer, with the goal of preserving substantive additions to the historical record. The tape recording is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The corrected manuscript is indexed, bound with photographs and illustrative materials, and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and in other research collections for scholarly use. Because it is primary material, oral history is not intended to present the final, verified, or complete narrative of events. It is a spoken account, offered by the interviewee in response to questioning, and as such it is reflective, partisan, deeply involved, and irreplaceable.

\*\*\*\*\*

All uses of this manuscript are covered by a legal agreement between The Regents of the University of California and Charles Muscatine, dated June 7, 2002. The manuscript is thereby made available for research purposes. All literary rights in the manuscript, including the right to publish, are reserved to The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. No part of the manuscript may be quoted for publication without the written permission of the Director of The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley.

Requests for permission to quote for publication should be addressed to the Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, Mail Code 6000, University of California, Berkeley 94720-6000, and should include identification of the specific passages to be quoted, anticipated use of the passages, and identification of the user.

It is recommended that this oral history be cited as follows:

Charles Muscatine, *The Loyalty Oath, the Free Speech Movement, and Education Reforms at the University of California, Berkeley*, an oral history conducted by Germaine LaBerge in 2000, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2003.

Copy no. 1





Charles Muscatine, March 1966.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS--Charles Muscatine

INTERVIEW HISTORY	i
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	iii
I BACKGROUND	1
Family and Childhood	1
Yale University: from Chemistry to English	3
Navy Experience in World War II	4
Graduate Work at Yale; Visits to Bennington College	6
Interviews with UC Berkeley Professors Bronson and Lehman	8
The English Department at UC Berkeley, 1948	10
II THE LOYALTY OATH CONTROVERSY, 1949-1952	13
Early Reactions	13
Non-signers and Supporters	15
Personal Philosophy	16
Visit to Henriette Durham	18
English Department's Stance	19
Support Outside the University	21
Wesleyan University, 1951-1953	21
House on Buena Vista Way	22
Friendships	23
Group for Academic Freedom and the Lawsuit	24
President Sproul and the Academic Senate	25
Children, Alison and Jeffrey	26
Return to Berkeley	27
TAs and Students	28
Faculty Governance	29
Long-Term Effects	29
Interim Years	31
English Department and Campus Atmosphere	31
Tenure, Manuscript, Fellowships	32
III THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, 1964-1966	35
Atmosphere on Campus	35
Initial Reaction to the Protests	36
Administration's Stance	37
Disillusionment: Joe Tussman and Tussman Tech	38
Posting Bail for Students with Charlie Sellers	39
Committee of 200 Resolutions	40
Reflections on Clark Kerr and the Regents	42
The Filthy Speech Movement, 1965, and Cultural Implications	43
Vietnam War Activism	44
Academic Senate Oratory	46
Select Committee on Education, 1965-1966	47
Statewide Committee on Educational Policy	49
Assistant Dean, 1956-1960	49

Faculty Contact during FSM	50
More on the Free Speech Movement	51
IV SELECT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, 1965-1966	55
Appointment of the Committee	55
Members at Work	56
Minority Report by George Pimentel	57
Writing the Report	58
Board of Educational Development	60
Academic Senate Reaction	61
Propositions Not Passed by the Senate	62
Student Reaction	63
Charles Muscatine's Second Hat: Higher Education	64
The Jade Tree Retreat and Other Influences	64
Educational Reform Ideas Germinating	66
Joe Tussman's Experimental Program	66
V STRAWBERRY CREEK COLLEGE, 1974-1980	69
Setting Up	69
Curriculum	70
Choosing Faculty and Associates	72
Venue in T-9	73
Choosing Students	74
Funding	75
Exhaustion and Hostility on Campus	75
Teaching Composition	78
Conservatism in the Seventies	79
Approval for the Ten-Unit Seminar	79
Berkeley's Reputation	80
Formation Meetings for the Seminar Program	81
Writing Skills of Faculty and Associates	82
Recruitment of Students and Faculty	83
Administrative Structure of the College	85
The Ten-Unit Course Question	86
Verbal Skills and Composition	87
Evaluation of Program's Successes and Failures	88
Closing the Program	90
Activities: Speeches, Consultation, Politics	92
Family and Vineyard	94
More on Strawberry Creek College	94
Evaluation by FIPSE	95
TAPE GUIDE	99
APPENDIX	101
"The Impact of Technology on Teaching: The Case for the Teacher," given at Nineteenth All-University Faculty Conference, March 22-25, 1964.	
INDEX	107

## INTERVIEW HISTORY--Charles Muscatine

In October of 1999, a University of California symposium ["The University Loyalty Oath: A 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Retrospective"] explored the loyalty oath fifty years after its imposition on university employees. Historians, university administrators, non-signers, bystanders all gathered in Berkeley for two days of reflective discussion on the meaning and consequences of this event in California. One of the symposium participants was Professor Emeritus Charles Muscatine. In 1949, he was a young assistant professor in the English department; he joined the stalwart Group for Academic Freedom, all of whom refused to sign the oath, and lost their faculty positions. "It was a violation of academic freedom as well as the Constitution. Besides, I had an obligation to my students. How could I tell them to tell it as it is if I had signed something that went so much against my conscience?" The oath was declared unconstitutional in 1951 [*Tolman v. Underhill*].

Charles Muscatine returned to Berkeley in 1953, where he taught until his retirement in 1991. The Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, undertook a series of interviews with six individuals who participated in this controversy [Professors Emeriti Howard Bern, Charles Muscatine, Howard Schachman of UCB; Ralph Giesey, a former student of Ernst Kantorowicz and now Professor Emeritus from the University of Minnesota; and the two daughters of the late Edward Tolman, Deborah Whitney and Mary Kent.]

What began as one interview about Charles Muscatine's loyalty oath activities led into a discussion of his involvement with the Free Speech movement, English literature, and innovations in higher education. Four interviews [seven tape hours] were recorded in 2000--one at The Bancroft Library; three others at the Frank Lloyd Wright-type home Charles and Doris built on Buena Vista Way in the early 1950s. Professor Muscatine was nursing a lame foot after surgery, but hopped up and down the stairs to find publications and folders of notes which would inform the conversation. Relaxed with a deep, self-deprecating laugh, he spoke with enthusiasm about Strawberry Creek College, a six-year experiment in a collegiate seminar program at the University of California, about friendships formed through shared professional experiences, and much else. What follows are the clear reflections of an eminent Chaucerian on the academy in the twentieth century.

We are grateful to him for taking the time to add to the historical record with this interview. Researchers may also like to consult other interviews in ROHO's University History Series for more information on the loyalty oath [Regent John Francis Neylan, Presidents Robert Gordon Sproul and David Gardner, Professors Emily Huntington and Josephine Miles, attorney for the non-signers Stanley Weigel, among others]. Charles Muscatine's papers related to this interview are deposited in The Bancroft Library.

The Regional Oral History Office was established in 1954 to augment through tape-recorded memoirs the Library's materials on the history of California and the West. Copies of all interviews are available for research use in The Bancroft Library and in the UCLA Department of Special Collections. The office is under the direction of Richard Cándida Smith and the administrative direction of Charles B. Faulhaber, The James D. Hart Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Germaine LaBerge  
University of California, Berkeley  
July 12, 2004



Regional Oral History Office  
Room 486 The Bancroft Library

University of California  
Berkeley, California 94720

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Charles Muscatine  
 Date of birth 11-28-20 Birthplace Brooklyn, N.Y.  
 Father's full name Samuel Muscatine  
 Occupation merchant Birthplace Russia  
 Mother's full name Bertha Muscatine  
 Occupation housewife Birthplace Russia  
 Your spouse Doris Muscatine  
 Occupation WRITER Birthplace New York, N.Y.  
 Your children Jeffrey, Alison (Lissa)

Where did you grow up? Trenton, N.J.  
 Present community Berkeley  
 Education Yale: BA 1941, M.A. 1942, Ph.D. 1948

Occupation(s) Professor of English

Areas of expertise medieval English and French,  
writing; higher education

Other interests or activities opera, golf, skiing, flying

Organizations in which you are active \_\_\_\_\_

SIGNATURE

Charles Muscatine

DATE:

June 10, 2000





## VITA

Charles Muscatine                      Phone: (510) 848-6522  
 2812 Buena Vista Way                Fax: (510) 848-4810  
 Berkeley, California 94720          E-mail: chasm@uclink4.berkeley.edu

**Education:** Yale U., B. A., 1941; M. A., 1942; Ph. D., 1948

**Military Service:** Lieutenant, USNR, 1942-45

**Academic Appointments:**

Joined Department of English, University of California, Berkeley, January, 1948; appointed Professor, 1960; Professor Emeritus, July, 1991

Visiting Assistant Professor, Wesleyan U., 1951-53

Visiting Professor, U. of Washington, Summer, 1961

**Administrative Experience:**

Assistant Dean, College of Letters and Science, UC Berkeley, 1956-60

Director, Collegiate Seminar Program ("Strawberry Creek College"), UC Berkeley, 1974-80

Committees of the Berkeley Division and campus:

Chair, Special Select Committee on Education, 1965-67

Chair, Council for Special Curricula, 1973-76

Member, Council for Educational Development, 1973-76

(also Academic Planning, Year-Round Operation, Educational Policy, University and Faculty Welfare, Composition, Humanities, Representative Assembly.)

Committee Statewide: Educational Policy (Vice Chair), 1963-64

**Civic Service:**

Board of Directors, Center for the Common Good, 1994-99

Board of Directors, Federation of State Humanities Councils, 1989-94, Secretary, 1990-91, Chair, 1991-93.

Member, California Council for the Humanities, 1986-94.

Citizens for California Higher Education, 1968-69

American Civil Liberties Union, Northern California, Board of Directors, 1959-62, 1963-66

Group for Academic Freedom [U. of Calif. faculty loyalty oath non-signers], 1948-53

**Awards and Honors:**

Honors in English, with Exceptional Distinction, Yale, 1941  
 Phi Beta Kappa, Yale, 1941  
 Yale Graduate School: Willis Tew Prize, Mitchell Fellow, Porter-Foote Fellow  
 Navy Commendation Ribbon, 1945  
 ACLS Research Fellow, 1958-59  
 Fulbright Research Fellow, 1958-59 (Italy), 1962-63 (France), 1968-69 (France)  
 Guggenheim Fellow, 1962-63  
 Senior Fellow, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1968-69  
 Ward-Phillips Lecturer, University of Notre Dame, 1969  
 Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1974  
 Doctor of Humane Letters (hon.), The New School for Social Research, 1982  
 Member, Academy of Literary Studies, 1986  
 Fellow, Medieval Academy of America, 1988  
 Doctor of Letters (hon.), Empire State College, The State University of New York, 1989  
 Doctor of Letters (hon.), Rosary College, 1991  
 The Berkeley Citation, University of California, Berkeley, 1991

**Scholarly and Editorial Service:**

National Endowment for Humanities: referee on research awards, faculty fellowships, development grants, summer seminars; member, Board of Consultants; participant in regional and national institutes, summer seminars.  
 Committee of Selection, J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 1970-89; Chair, 1985-89  
 Member, Commission on Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation, 1978-80  
 Board of Directors, Association of American Colleges, 1979- 82; Select Committee on the Baccalaureate Degree, 1983-85  
 National Humanities Faculty, 1972  
 President, New Chaucer Society, 1980-82  
 Publications Committee, Medieval Academy of America, 1979-83  
 Board of Editors, Viator, 1976-83  
 Board of Editors, Chaucer Review  
 Selection Committee, Graves Fellowships, 1967-2000  
 Selection Committee, Fulbright-Hays graduate awards, 1971-73  
 Modern Language Association: has served on Nominating Committee; and as chair of Chaucer Group and of Middle English Group  
 Friends of the Bancroft Library (Council Member, 1987-91)

**Visiting Committees and Consultative Service:**

Colorado College  
 Antioch College  
 Grinnell College  
 University of Southern California  
 Ford Foundation  
 Rockefeller Foundation  
 Danforth Foundation  
 St. Edward's University  
 Sangamon State University  
 University of Nevada  
 Berkshire Community College  
 Lawrence, Kansas High School  
 Residential College, University of Michigan  
 University of Illinois, Chicago Circle  
 Chaminade University  
 University of Oregon  
 Arizona State University  
 Chapman College  
 American Council of Learned Societies  
 Hamline University  
 Appalachian State University  
 Humboldt State University  
 University of Arkansas, Little Rock  
 Evergreen State College  
 Wesleyan College  
 Arizona International University  
 Rutgers University, Camden

**Publications: Higher Education**

"The Impact of Technology on Teaching: The Case for the Teacher," in Proceedings of the Univ. of California Nineteenth All-University Faculty Conference (May, 1964), pp. 56-65.

[editor and co-author] Education at Berkeley: Report of the Special Select Committee on Education (Berkeley: Academic Senate, University of California, 1966; U. of California Press paperback, with corrections and epilogue, 1968).

[co-editor, with Marlene Griffith] The Borzoi College Reader (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1966; 7th ed., rev., 1992) [text: based on major cultural and moral issues.]

"What Direction for Higher Education?," Think, 32 (1966), 24-28. Reprinted in Lee A. Jacobus, ed., Issues and Response (New York, 1968).

"Reforming General Education," in C. B. T. Lee, ed., Improving College Teaching (American Council on Education, 1967), pp. 360-363.

"The Future of University Education as an Idea," in Walter J. Ong, ed., Knowledge and the Future of Man, An International Symposium (New York: Holt, 1968; Clarion paperback, 1968), pp. 39-54; reprinted in Arnold Nash, The Choice before the Humanities (Durham, N. C.: Regional Educational Laboratory, 1970).

"On First Looking into the Commission Report," Daily Californian, Jan 19, 1968, p. 21.

[co-editor, with Marlene Griffith] First Person Singular (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1973) [textbook].

"Toward a New Curriculum," in James W. Hall and B. L. Kevles, eds., In Opposition to Core Curriculum, (Westport: Greenwood, 1982), pp. 99-106.

"Enriching the Intellectual Lives of Prospective Teachers," The Journal of Thought, 17 (1982), 3-14.

[co-editor and co-author] Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community, (Washington, D. C.: Association of American Colleges, 1985; 2d ed. 1990.)

"Faculty Responsibility for the Curriculum," Academe, 71 (1985), 18-21.

["Minority Students and the Coherent Curriculum,"] Addresses and Proceedings, Western College Association, Annual Meeting, 1985 (Oakland, 1986), 21-23.

"Introduction" to Strengthening Community in America (Arlington, Va: Federation of State Humanities Councils [1992]), p. 4.

"Introduction" to Remaking America Together (Arlington, Va: Federation of State Humanities Councils [1993]), pp. 4-5.

Review of Mark Edmundson, ed., Wild Orchids and Trotsky: Messages from American Universities (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), in Culturefront 2, no. 2 (summer 1993), 87-88.

"The Public Humanities and the Academic," Chair's Address delivered at the Annual Business Meeting, Federation of State Humanities Councils, in Annual Report 1993 (Arlington, Va: 1994), pp. 1-3. Reprinted in Halcyon 16 (1994), 255-258; ACLS Newsletter 4, no.2 (n.s.) (1994), 10-11.

"Reading Literature: From Graduate School to Elementary School," Profession 1996 (New York, Modern Language Association, 1996), pp. 115-120.

Review of J. W. Kleinstück, Chaucers Stellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur, MLN, 74 (1959), 735-737.

Review of Manfred Gsteiger, Die Landschaftsschilderungen in den Romanen Chrestiens de Troyes, Romance Philology, 14 (1960), 172-175.

Review of D. S. Brewer, ed., The Parlement of Foullys by Geoffrey Chaucer, Modern Language Review, 57 (1962), 81-82.

"Locus of Action in Medieval Narrative," Romance Philology, 17 (1963), 115-122.

The Book of Geoffrey Chaucer (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1963).

Review of Alberto del Monte, Civiltà e poesia romanze, Romance Philology, 17 (1964), 718-719.

Review of Charles S. Singleton, tr., The Book of the Courtier, Romance Philology, 17 (1964), 722.

"Chaucer in an Age of Criticism," Modern Language Quarterly, 25 (1964), 473-478.

"The Canterbury Tales: Style of the Man and Style of the Work," in D. S. Brewer, ed., Chaucer and Chaucerians (London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 88-113.

"The Wife of Bath and Gautier's La Veuve," in Urban T. Holmes, ed., Romance Studies in Memory of Edward Billings Ham, California State College Pubs., no. 2 (Hayward, Ca., 1967), pp. 109-114.

Review of F. X. Newman, ed., The Meaning of Courtly Love, Speculum, 46 (1971), 747-750.

Poetry and Crisis in the Age of Chaucer (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1972).

Review of Jerome Mitchell, ed., Chaucer the Love Poet, Speculum, 51 (1976), 522-523.

"The Social Background of the Old French Fabliaux," Genre, 9 (1976), 1-19.

Review of John Gardner, The Life and Times of Chaucer, and The Poetry of Chaucer, in The New York Times Book Review, April 24, 1977, pp. 13, 38-39.

Review of Robert L. Belknap and Richard Kuhns, Tradition and Innovation, The Journal of Higher Education, 50 (1979), 97-98.

"What Amounteth Al This Wit? -- Chaucer and Scholarship," Studies in the Age of Chaucer, 3 (1981), 3-11.

"Courtly Literature and Vulgar Language," in Glyn S. Burgess, ed., Court and Poet, (Liverpool: Cairns, 1981), 1-19.

The Old French Fabliaux (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

"Explanatory Notes" to Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Parliament of Fowls," in The Riverside Chaucer, 3d ed., gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), pp. 994-1002.

"The Fabliaux," in A New History of French Literature, ed. Denis Hollier (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 70-75. French trans. in De la littérature française, ed. Denis Hollier (Paris: Bordas, 1993).

"Chaucer's Religion and the Chaucer Religion," in Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt, eds., Chaucer Traditions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 249-262.

Review of Guillaume de Machaut, "Le jugement du roy de Behaigne" and "Remede de Fortune," ed. [and trans.] James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler, Speculum 66 (1991), 879-881.

"The Fabliaux, Courtly Culture, and the (Re)Invention of Vulgarity" in Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 281-292.

Medieval Literature, Style, and Culture (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1999) (collection of previously published essays).

1/00

## INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES MUSCATINE

**I BACKGROUND****Family and Childhood**

[Interview 1: June 7, 2000] ##<sup>1</sup>

Muscatine: I can give you my vita sometime.

LaBerge: Oh, that would be good, but [also we'd like to talk about it a little bit,] so if you could tell me the circumstances of your birth, when and where you were born.

Muscatine: Yes. I was born in Brooklyn.

LaBerge: Okay, in what year?

Muscatine: In 1920. Moved to Trenton, New Jersey, at the age of about seven or eight. Grew up there.

LaBerge: So did you go to--

Muscatine: I went to Trenton High School. And from there to Yale.

LaBerge: And what year was this? I'm trying to figure out when the war intervened.

Muscatine: In 1937. I was the high school class of '37. Yale, '41; M.A. '42; U.S. Navy '42 to '45, and I was in the amphibious wars in Europe.

LaBerge: We're going to come back to that in a minute, but I'd like to ask you more about your childhood. What was your family like? Brothers and sisters?

---

1. ## This symbol indicates that a tape or tape segment has begun or ended. A guide to the tapes follows the transcript.

- Muscatine: Well, one sister, Alice Peterson, almost the same age, one brother, Professor Leonard Muscatine, twelve years younger. He was born in Trenton. Middle class, Russian-Jewish immigrants. My father was in the retail clothing business.
- LaBerge: Anything in your background that would have led later to the stance you took on the loyalty oath?
- Muscatine: None. Not really.
- LaBerge: Maybe the religious ideals?
- Muscatine: More the political ideals, if anything. That is, my father was a really enthusiastic immigrant, and I think I picked up some of that undiluted admiration for the American way, shall we say. [laughs] That would be--they weren't politically--they were politically Democrats, liberals, but they were not political at all.
- LaBerge: What kinds of things did you do as a boy for oh, activities, hobbies?
- Muscatine: Tennis, baseball, and reading. In the reverse order.
- LaBerge: Did you always know you were going to go on to college? Was that part of--
- Muscatine: Well, I don't think I even thought of college until it was a couple of years away. My parents hadn't been to college.
- LaBerge: So what influenced you?
- Muscatine: Well, I think by the time I was in high school, I was a pretty good student. And I must tell you this, I naively applied to only one college.
- LaBerge: Only to Yale?
- Muscatine: Nobody told me you were supposed to apply to more than one! [laughs] But it worked out okay.
- LaBerge: Right. And Yale because you'd heard of it?
- Muscatine: Yale because Princeton was too close to home.
- LaBerge: So that would have been the other one, though, I guess.
- Muscatine: Probably, yes.
- LaBerge: Any other people in your childhood who influenced you besides your father--like an extended family or teachers?
- Muscatine: Well, I had one or two remarkable teachers in high school, but they would have influenced me more culturally than politically. In fact, I had an older contemporary when I was in college who had gone to the University of North Carolina and become a Communist and who over the course of several years in the summer vacations tried to



convert me, to absolutely no effect. [laughter] So that's a negative influence, I guess. I remember little pamphlets that he used to slip me. I often wondered what was going on in North Carolina.

No, let's see, politically speaking, really, I have no political background at all.

LaBerge: Did you have grandparents and aunts and uncles living around, or not?

Muscatine: Not importantly, no.

LaBerge: What were your parents' names?

Muscatine: Samuel and Bertha.

LaBerge: And did you practice Judaism?

Muscatine: As little as possible, which means after confirmation I withdrew from all religious practice.

LaBerge: But you did have a bar mitzvah?

Muscatine: I was confirmed, yes. I don't have a religious bone in my body, I don't think.

### **Yale University: from Chemistry to English**

LaBerge: Well, so in going to Yale, what had you intended to study? Was it always English?

Muscatine: Chemistry.

LaBerge: Chemistry? How did that evolve?

Muscatine: Mrs. Annie P. Hughes, the chemistry teacher in high school, was a fabulous teacher, and I had been messing around with one of those little chemical sets that they used to have. Ever since I was ten years old, I was mixing sulfur and whatnot. I thought I was going to be a chemist, and I did very well on the--whatever it was, the aptitude test for chemistry.

At Yale they put me into an advanced chemistry course, "semi-micro-qualitative" analysis instead of freshman chemistry, and [laughs] chemistry lab was pretty far from my dorm. The teacher had a way of locking the chemistry class door exactly at 8:00 a.m. and I arrived at 8:04 usually, so I found it hard to get into the lab. Then when I did get into the lab, I discovered I was really not suited to the physical procedures of chemistry. I used to throw out the precipitate and keep the solution when I should have been doing the reverse.

I remember late in the term my chemistry professor stopped by my station, and as usual my middle finger was down the drain trying to retrieve something I had thrown out by

mistake, and he said, "What are you going to major in, Muscatine?" And I said, "English, Sir." [laughter] And he said, "Okay, in that case you pass chemistry," [laughter] so that was the end of my scientific career.

LaBerge: And had that just come out of your mouth, or had you really thought about doing English?

Muscatine: Well, I had been really ravished by my English teacher, too. He was a wonderful, wonderful person.

LaBerge: In high school?

Muscatine: No, no, in college.

LaBerge: Who was it?

Muscatine: Richard Benson Sewall--S-E-W-A-L-L--to whom I finally dedicated a book! Fifty years later. *The Old French Fabliaux*, on dirty stories of the thirteenth century. [laughs] However I wasn't doing that well in English. But I loved it. I really felt very much enamoured with it, so--

LaBerge: So you went through a regular college career, and then how did you decide to go on?

### **Navy Experience in World War II**

Muscatine: Well, I graduated in English as a major and went and got a master's at Yale the following year. Then I joined the navy. I was pretty clear about the navy because my roommate had gone to the navy, too.

Then in the navy I remember taking one scholarly book, which was Chaucer, I don't know why, and thinking probably I would do what my roommate had been determined to do--go to law school. So those were the two options.

I already had a master's in English, and then during the war in the Mediterranean, I was appointed to a court martial--I'm not sure this is off the subject.

LaBerge: Oh, this is very relevant, yes.

Muscatine: I was appointed to a court martial of a man who had deserted his gunnery post in time of battle. Had run below decks--this was on a different ship--broke into a locker, stole a rifle, broke into another locker and stole some medical alcohol, drank same, [laughs] and then ran through the ship firing the rifle. And he was indicted for--I don't know--about twelve counts. God knows what--you can imagine. And I was appointed his defense attorney.

LaBerge: Oh, my. How did you happen to get appointed?

Muscatine: That's one of the things you do as an officer if they appoint you.

Well, the court--for some reason the flotilla commander had a guy who was in charge of court martials and he was on a different ship. Well, to make a long story short, I got him off with the "destruction of government property." [laughs] I thought that was awesome, after spending three days reading the books called *Naval Courts and Boards* to find out what the naval law was. And when that happened, I was so horrified by the fact that he hadn't been sent to Portsmouth for thirty years that I decided I just didn't want to spend my life doing that. [laughs] I really saw what the law was like--and when the war was over, I went back to Yale graduate school.

LaBerge: For the Ph.D.

Muscatine: For the Ph.D.

LaBerge: Yes. Well, tell me more about the war experience. Do you remember where you were on Pearl Harbor Day?

Muscatine: Pearl Harbor Day I was in New Haven, Connecticut. I was still a senior. But that was in '41? I was a master's candidate. Yes, a graduate student.

LaBerge: So did you sign up for the navy as opposed to being drafted?

Muscatine: Yes, I was going to be drafted, I mean, sooner or later.

LaBerge: Right, right. And so where were you sent first for training?

Muscatine: I was sent for training at Columbia University for officers' training school. Then after whatever it was, a short number of months, I was sent to the amphibious force in Norfolk, Virginia, and served on the same ship for two years and two months.

LaBerge: What ship was that?

Muscatine: *USS LST 335*. This is a landing ship, and I became a navigating officer of that: navigation and small boat officer.

LaBerge: When did you get to Europe?

Muscatine: In '43. I was in the end of the African Campaign, Sicily Landing, Salerno Landing, and then we shipped off to Great Britain.

LaBerge: So then to Great Britain, and when did you come back?

Muscatine: I came back in the spring of '45 to study Russian language in a program that had been opened by the navy. But when I got to the states I discovered that the Russian language program was closed and they were offering me Japanese. But I had also gotten engaged to my wife, at the time, and I didn't want to go back to the fleet, so I went to Japanese school.

LaBerge: Where?

Muscatine: In Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. [laughs]

LaBerge: Oh, my goodness.

Muscatine: Of all unlikely places. And that's where I was when the bomb went off [Hiroshima, August 1945]. I was also, by that time, married, and I had enough points to get out in time for graduate school in the fall of '45.

### **Graduate Work at Yale; Visits to Bennington College**

LaBerge: During that time had you already applied to graduate school?

Muscatine: Well, I'm not sure. I think probably when I heard that I was going to be demobilized, I probably applied at that moment. They were pretty good about letting me back in.

LaBerge: Yes. Well, how did all the war experience affect you? I mean, I know it had a huge effect, but as far as the loyalty oath, would that--

Muscatine: Well, indirectly. If I can jump ahead to 1945: when I was doing my graduate work in the fall, my wife was attending Bennington College, from which she had not yet graduated. I used to spend the weekends commuting from New Haven to Bennington at high speed. I ran into some of the wonderful faculty members at Bennington including a man named Max Salvadori, who I think was a political scientist or social--somewhat in political studies. He's a pretty well-known man, and he for one reason or another had steered me to a book called *Hitler's Professors*,<sup>2</sup> the author of which I don't remember now. But that had a very profound effect on me in terms of my heading for a professorial career and seeing how these people had just folded, you know.

I think having spent three years, you know, surrounded by death and destruction and the Nazis sort of melded with this other feeling about Hitler and about professors. But I don't think I--I was not a very political person. Never had been, in fact.

LaBerge: But you weren't involved on campus in any political groups?

Muscatine: I'm not very political.

LaBerge: Well, let's take a little backtrack. Tell me how you met your wife, because she's an important person in your life.

Muscatine: Oh, she goes way back. I mean, I've known her since she was twelve, or something like that. [laughs]

LaBerge: Wow. In Trenton, New Jersey?

---

2. Max Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes against the Jewish People* (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute--YIVO, 1946.)

Muscatine: Yes. But she was too young for me, at first. But she wrote to me all during the war as a kind of patriotic duty, and so when I came back from England, on the way to Japanese school, I realized she was a woman. [laughter] You know, and things--one thing led to another.

LaBerge: Was she at Bennington then?

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: Okay, and her name is Doris?

Muscatine: Doris [Corn], that's her name.

LaBerge: And you were married what year?

Muscatine: In 1945.

LaBerge: Okay, at the same time you were at Yale and married, was she at Bennington?

Muscatine: For a year, until they sprung her. In those days Bennington was, and is still, very, very different; they graduate you when they think you are ready.

LaBerge: Oh, really!

Muscatine: So she graduated in three years. [laughs] Well, I got her to [continue]--but not before I spent quite a bit of time at Bennington observing what they were doing. And that had a really profound effect on my views of education.

LaBerge: Oh, why don't you talk about that a little?

Muscatine: Well, they were really almost the first people who put in some liberal practices sort of the Deweyian attitude that education is done mostly by the person being educated. They focussed on groups--very, very independent study, et cetera, with a superb faculty at that time.

LaBerge: And was this different than what you'd experienced at Yale?

Muscatine: Oh, yes. Oh, sure.

LaBerge: Even though you had had small classes, too?

Muscatine: Well, at Yale a small class might have been twenty-five, you know, and at Bennington it was six. [laughs] And at Yale there were young assistant professors trying to make tenure; at Bennington there were these odds and ends of people like W.H. Auden teaching poetry and Erich Fromm teaching psychology, and Peter Drucker teaching economics, and Martha Graham teaching dance. It was an unbelievable group of creative people there.

LaBerge: Was it all women, or not?

Muscatine: Yes, at that time it was, yes.

**Interviews with UC Berkeley Professors Bronson and Lehman**

LaBerge: Well, so you at this point knew you were going to be a professor. How did coming to California happen?

Muscatine: Well, I think I told that story in an interview I did with the *Daily Cal*, if I can tell it again.

LaBerge: Okay.

Muscatine: I had a very good record there, and they offered me an assistant professorship--

LaBerge: At Yale?

Muscatine: At Yale, and I got the letter, which was nice. This was after I passed my orals. I went to the English Department chairman's office to accept, and he wasn't there. I waited and waited and waited and finally I said, "Well, it's getting towards dinner time," so I thought I'd go home and come back in the morning. So I told his secretary I'd be back in the morning. In the meanwhile I'd gotten an offer from Berkeley.

LaBerge: You had applied, or they had heard about you?

Muscatine: Well, what happened with that and I'll tell you that story now--that Christmas I had nothing to do and they were holding interviews in the graduate school. In those days people were looking for assistant professors, or instructors as they were called in those days, and I had nothing to do. My dissertation was barely started and I was obviously not going to be on the market the following fall, but I thought, "I'll go up to New Haven and get some practice being interviewed."

I was at home for Christmas vacation, so I got on the train and I had an interview among other things with Bertrand H. Bronson who was recruiting for Berkeley. The first thing he said was, "Well, so when are you going to finish your dissertation?"

And I said, "Well, I've just started it."

He said, "Oh, that's too bad. We're looking for somebody who's just about finished."

And I said, "Gee, that's too bad," and I got up and headed for the door and he said, "Well, I've got half an hour. Why don't you just stick around and we'll talk about Chaucer." [laughs] He was an eighteenth century scholar, but also a great Chaucerian. So I was totally relaxed, having absolutely nothing to lose, which must have impressed him favorably because the next thing you know I got this offer from Berkeley. So that's how I got the offer. Well, anyhow, I come home and we start talking about it and we started thinking, "Gosh, you know, wouldn't it be exciting to go somewhere else?"

LaBerge: Yes.

Muscatine: And so by morning we had decided to take the Berkeley offer.

LaBerge: Oh, my gosh. Sight unseen?

Muscatine: Yes, there was one little pamphlet in the Yale library about Berkeley, "A City of Gardens," which was okay--[laughter]--a little Chamber of Commerce pamphlet. I wasn't quite sure where Berkeley was, actually. I had heard much about UCLA, wasn't quite sure of the difference. But I'd liked Bronson a lot, of course, so that's that story.

LaBerge: So this is even before you finished your dissertation?

Muscatine: Yes, let's see, I was supposed to arrive in the fall of '47, which would have been normal--so this would have taken place the previous Christmas vacation, this interview, so it was for Christmas '46. But I turned up in January of '48 with my dissertation about two-thirds done and I finished it that spring when I was teaching my four courses! [laughs] I didn't sleep much.

LaBerge: Oh, gosh. Well, Professor [Benjamin] Lehman has an oral history, and he talks about interviewing you.

Muscatine: Well, he came afterward. After I had accepted, he came by to--I haven't seen that. That's interesting. I should look at that. [laughs]

LaBerge: Oh, you would love to see it, because first of all, it's a big volume.

Muscatine: It was memorable.

LaBerge: And he mentioned you several times as being the cream of the crop.

Muscatine: Oh, isn't that nice.

LaBerge: So, well, tell us about that interview, if you remember it.

Muscatine: Well, just, Lehman swept into town. He was, I guess, recently divorced from Judith Anderson, the great actress. But he had just come from Broadway where he had seen her play Medea, and he was at great pains to explain that he, you know, was quite intimate with Judith Anderson.

He asked us to take him to the best restaurant in town, and of course we had no idea what the best restaurant in town was, so we took him to a nice restaurant. He swept in, and in the entrance there was a blind pianist playing and he said in a stentorian tone, "As far from the music as possible," [laughter] to the head waiter. So we went back into the depths of the restaurant and he talked about Judith Anderson denying her femininity or her sexuality as she steels herself for the things she has to do, you know. And my wife and I have laughed so much over the way his hands wound over this well-known terrain, [laughter] imitating Judith Anderson's self-denial. [demonstrating]

Anyhow, he was a wonderful sort of model as raconteur, larger than life. And we lived with him for a couple of days when we arrived in Berkeley.

### **The English Department at UC Berkeley, 1948**

- LaBerge: Oh, you did? Did you drive across country?
- Muscatine: Yes.
- LaBerge: Okay, so this is 1948 when you arrived?
- Muscatine: Right. Around New Year's.
- LaBerge: So you stayed at his house while you looked for a place?
- Muscatine: Yes.
- LaBerge: And then what did you find?
- Muscatine: We found a nice little apartment. Well, the department had arranged for us to rent a brand new apartment which wasn't done yet, so we lived in one small quarters for a couple of weeks, and then we moved into a brand new apartment.
- LaBerge: And do you think that was common for departments to do for people coming?
- Muscatine: Yes.
- LaBerge: Well, what were your first impressions of Berkeley?
- Muscatine: Oh, glorious. I just loved it. I loved everything. And my wife, who had had some fits of crying during the trip as she thought of all the things she was leaving behind, as soon as we hit Berkeley, all that cleared up. It was so pretty--even in January.
- LaBerge: Even in January?
- Muscatine: January was just incredible, you know. All the winter blooming stuff was out, so--and this was Tamalpais Road, which is not the worst street in the world. It was quite nice. And the department was so social and accommodating. Those were the good old days, you know.
- LaBerge: What were you teaching?
- Muscatine: Gosh, I don't remember. I know I was teaching English 1B, which is the second semester of freshman English, because when I got into the class, and turned to them to say my name is Muscatine, I couldn't talk. [laughter] I cleared my throat, went out into the hall, got some water, and came back in and then said, "My name is Muscatine and this is English 1B."



Very likely I was teaching Chaucer, a lecture course. In fact, I'm almost certain--which is quite an experience. Then probably I was teaching a course called English 100--Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism. And probably a section of sophomore English. That would have been it, but it was four courses in those days.

LaBerge: Now, in deciding to come here to such a big place after seeing Bennington and being impressed with the small classes, I mean, did you have any thoughts about, "Gee, maybe I don't want to teach at such a big place?"

Muscatine: No, because you know, I imbibed that sense of what Bennington was, but I didn't think about education. Graduate students don't think about it. In fact, professors don't think about education, as you know. And I didn't start thinking about education until the sixties, almost. And then when I started thinking about it, I realized that Bennington was really where it was at. And I still think so. In fact, I'm writing a book about that right now.

LaBerge: Oh, good. And about your experiences, too, with Strawberry Creek College?

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: Oh, good. Well, let's jump to the loyalty oath.

Muscatine: Okay.



## II THE LOYALTY OATH CONTROVERSY, 1949-1952

### Early Reactions ##

- LaBerge: The first mention of the loyalty oath was really 1949. When did you first hear about it?
- Muscatine: At the first mention. I was at the faculty meeting.
- LaBerge: In June?
- Muscatine: Late in the spring of '49, yes. Our department was right in Wheeler Hall, and the faculty met one floor below my office, so it was very easy to get to the faculty meetings.  
[laughs]
- LaBerge: You mean that's where the [academic] senate meetings were?
- Muscatine: Yes, yes. And I was there when [Edward] Tolman got up--I guess it was Tolman--and said, "Oh, there's this little problem I seem to see here. Something about an oath." That was when I first heard that.
- LaBerge: Actually I should step back just a minute and say, had you always gone to all the senate meetings? Was that--did everybody go?
- Muscatine: I would probably have, yes, especially since it was so close.
- LaBerge: And because you were new?
- Muscatine: Yes, right.
- LaBerge: So it was a pretty active--all the professors were active in the senate?
- Muscatine: I wouldn't say all, but the notable professors were active.
- LaBerge: Okay. Well, so you were at this meeting and Professor Tolman brought up the oath. What was your immediate reaction?

- Muscatine: Well, my immediate reaction was, you know, this was pretty smelly. But I didn't have any really notable--I mean, I figured, well, they would get this straightened out. [laughs]
- LaBerge: Yes.
- Muscatine: And it wasn't until it wore on and on and they didn't get it straightened out that I got more and more interested.
- LaBerge: Involved, yes. Did you also hear Professor [Ernst] Kantorowicz speak at one of those early meetings?
- Muscatine: Oh, yes, yes. And I was very sensitive to him because as a medievalist he was the greatest. I was even attending one of his courses in the back of the room, you know.
- LaBerge: I interviewed Ralph Giesey who said that you went to one of his classes.
- Muscatine: Oh, yes, I have the notes from that course that are fantastic--Pope Innocent III--I still remember the subject.
- LaBerge: Wow.
- Muscatine: Anyhow, what got me into this sort of fray, oddly enough, was a colleague in English named Arthur Brodeur. I don't know whether you know that name. B-R-O-D-E-U-R.
- LaBerge: I do have that name written down.
- Muscatine: He was an expert on Germanic philology--Norse and Germanic philology--but he was in the English department. He was reputed to be if not a Communist at least a radical. He was reputed to be on good terms with the Red Dean of Canterbury. [laughs] The Red Dean of Canterbury was the archbishop, the dean of Canterbury Cathedral in England who was a well-known radical and outspoken Communist sympathizer.
- Anyhow, Arthur Brodeur was a big, bluff, hearty, wonderful man whom I liked personally and also because he was a medievalist. And he, somehow, I think, asked me whether I'd be interested in joining the group of non-signers--I was still a non-signer--that was meeting at the Faculty Club to discuss the issues. I think he did it as a collegial gesture and I thought, sure. So I did. And that was the beginning of my involvement, because once you get sitting there and talking about the issues, they get more and more real and you get more and more involved and, pretty soon, you own a piece of the action. You know what I mean?
- LaBerge: Right.
- Muscatine: And indeed, when Arthur discovered that if he didn't sign the oath, he could not have his brand new Norse Studies--what was that called now, is it Scandinavian? Whatever our department is that does those languages, which he had been working on for years trying to establish, and he suddenly realized that if he didn't sign he was going to lose this baby, so he signed. But I didn't. [laughs]

LaBerge: And he's the one who got you involved.

Muscatine: Yes, sort of ironic.

### **Non-signers and Supporters**

LaBerge: How big was this group of non-signers?

Muscatine: Oh, well, it was pretty big. I think forty, fifty, sixty--it may have been to a couple of hundred at one time, I really don't know.

LaBerge: Was this the group that was called the Group for Academic Freedom?

Muscatine: No, that was the formal name adopted by the group who were fired.

LaBerge: Oh, okay, but we're just talking about a group of non-signers.

Muscatine: This was a group of non-signers who met very regularly throughout the whole early part of the controversy, and whose numbers dwindled every week [laughs] by two, and who were harangued periodically by conservative professors who exercised their right to attend the meeting and tried to get us to sign. [laughs]

LaBerge: Do you remember the names of any of those?

Muscatine: It was a professor of law. I can't think of it now.

LaBerge: Not [William] Prosser?

Muscatine: No, he was the dean. No, not Prosser. He was a much higher class of person. Oh, god. Well, I'll think of it at some point, or Howard Bern will remember his name well. What the devil is his name? Larry Harper! He came and harangued us every week and we debated whether to throw him out and then decided that that was anti-Democratic, so--

LaBerge: The meetings were at the Faculty Club, so they were open to anybody?

Muscatine: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: You didn't have to be a non-signer to--

Muscatine: No.

LaBerge: Tell me who else was in that group? We know Howard Bern and probably Howard Schachman?

Muscatine: Oh, god, they were--I mean, I could hardly--all the non-signers, of course, were in that group.

- LaBerge: And was the leader Edward Tolman, or someone else?
- Muscatine: Oh, yes, Edward Tolman.
- LaBerge: So would he have led the meetings?
- Muscatine: He sort of--I don't think it was really that formal in the sense that he didn't sit up and say, "I'm the chairman of the meeting." We would meet, and we would discuss the various issues. I think that as time went on, the faculty leadership turned to this group for guidance on what should be done, until the sort of climax or nadir of the situation was when Malcolm Davisson, who was I guess the chair of the faculty group that had particular responsibility for faculty policy, told me, when he asked us what should be done, that--
- LaBerge: Asked you, the group of non-signers--
- Muscatine: Asked me personally because at the time I was the secretary of the non-signers. At a certain moment he contacted me. He said, "We have lost the moral right to decide," which was one of the most moving events in the whole history of the controversy for me. And he suffered terribly and I think really lost his health over it.
- LaBerge: That's what I have read.
- Muscatine: Yes.
- LaBerge: Other people, too, but that he was--
- Muscatine: Yes, he was very, very badly torn up by it. So this group became smaller and smaller and more and more directed in terms of what it thought should happen.
- LaBerge: For instance, when Professor Davisson asked you, what did you say?
- Muscatine: Well, I don't remember what the issue was. It was some move that should or should not be made, or whether they should accept some proposal or not. I don't know.

### **Personal Philosophy**

- LaBerge: Well, what was your position on whether Communists should teach? For instance, when there was a vote that the faculty--this was, I guess, before what was called "the great double-cross," if the faculty would vote that no Communists should teach, then the regents would withdraw the oath.
- Muscatine: Oh, I would have voted against that.
- LaBerge: Okay, that's what I wondered.
- Muscatine: I don't remember now whether I did, but I'm sure--

- LaBerge: It was a mail vote, I guess.
- Muscatine: I'm sure I would have voted against that.
- LaBerge: Could you elaborate a little bit on that, what your philosophy is, about why you didn't want to sign the oath?
- Muscatine: Yes, my main--as I see it now--my main feeling about it had to do with its feeling to me totally unconstitutional, un-American. I had of course signed the oath to the constitution, and when I wrote to Sproul, I said that I've already signed an oath to the constitution and I feel that this contravenes that oath. So that was my major--of course, I also had strong visceral objections to interference from the regents. And as I say, my reading of *Hitler's Professors*, my sense of--I was and maybe still am very idealistic about the role of professors in society and so it just seemed to me to be an insult to the gown.
- Now I must confess, that that position served me in good stead later on, because when the Levering Act oath was imposed, which I think is probably just as bad as the regents' oath, I could sort of in conscience say, well, this has been ruled constitutional. [laughs] So I think I salvaged my conscience about signing that by having started out with the other position, you know.
- LaBerge: Now I understand that your wife felt strongly about this, too.
- Muscatine: Oh, yes. [laughs]
- LaBerge: Tell me about the discussions you had at home and how that affected you.
- Muscatine: Oh, it affected me very strongly. I mean, all of us obviously had to waver now and again, you know, what about the--we didn't have any kids at the time, but she was pregnant and you know, what about my job and what about this and what about that? Other faculty wives were saying, "What about the children?" And, "We owe so much on the house," and, "You know, you're forty-five. Where will you get another job if you're fired from Berkeley?" And she [Doris] was somewhat contemptuous of the women who were leaning on their kids or on their mortgages. You know, "Don't slide!" That's been translated in the family folklore into, "If you sign, I'll divorce you." [laughter] It wasn't quite that strong, but probably close to it.
- LaBerge: But I'm sure that--I mean, that helped you maintain your position.
- Muscatine: Oh, yes. Oh, also, also, I had a hell of a good record from Yale. I really didn't realize the implications fully of being sort of blackballed. And the profession itself really rose to our defense, so I really never had any doubts that I would get another job if I needed to. So that helped a lot. If I'd been fifty-five, you know--
- LaBerge: And not such a good record--
- Muscatine: Yes, that would have been maybe quite a story, I don't know. So I was just cocky. [laughs]

**Visit to Henriette Durham**

LaBerge: And so I mean, I know that people did take up a collection and you did a little bit of fundraising, so to speak, so is that what you lived on?

Muscatine: We had some savings, but essentially the first year I was fired we lived on certainly contributions from the faculty fund, and that's very well documented. I think they raised I don't know, \$170,000. In those days that was a lot of money. And of course, we were able to repay that when we got our back pay.

LaBerge: So you did get your back pay?

Muscatine: Oh, yes. After you know, two law suits.

LaBerge: Well, I know you recounted this at the symposium, but we don't have it on tape, about going to visit Mrs. [Henriette] Durham.

Muscatine: Oh, Mrs. Durham. [laughs] Well, Edward [Tolman] and I went to see Mrs. Durham. Actually, she was sort of a relative of his.

LaBerge: Oh, really!

Muscatine: Yes, I think she was a distant cousin or something, and of course, a very close friend. We went into her house and we talked about--I think she may even have summoned Edward with the idea of wanting to contribute.

LaBerge: And was her husband still alive?

Muscatine: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: Who was also an English professor?

Muscatine: Yes, she was married to [Willard] Bull at that time, yes, but he was retired, possibly. I don't think he figures in the oath controversy.

But as we were talking, she was sitting at a little spindly-legged escriptorio and scribbling something, and after we got done telling our story and what the issues were with the regents and so on, we got up. And as we were getting up, she passed this little piece of paper to Edward, who put it in his pocket and very courteously thanked her for listening to us. Then we got back out into his car and as soon as he closed the door, he said, "Let's see!" [laughter] He pulled it out and it was for some enormous sum. I think it was around \$12,000. I've forgotten the sum. I keep changing it probably. But it was very, very funny. [laughs]

LaBerge: In reading Professor Lehman's oral history, I realize he later married her.

Muscatine: He certainly did.

LaBerge: Right. He had quite a career.



Muscatine: You should have heard him before he married her, long before--describing the confluence of the various fortunes, ["fortyooones"] he put it, which made up her current situation. He knew each stream of income. [laughter] And they were very impressive, to say the least.

### **English Department's Stance**

LaBerge: Well, let's just talk about the English department. What was the tenor of the English department as far as the oath was concerned?

Muscatine: Well, the English department was extremely decent to its non-signers, but it was of course--and I think, by and large, as departments go, certainly anti-oath--certainly that. But we did have--I remember one meeting near the deadline, you know, when some of the senior people with the best of intentions tried to talk some of the junior people into signing. And I can remember getting all hot and bothered and saying, "I damn well won't--"

LaBerge: You didn't feel pressured to?

Muscatine: Well, except for that, sort of, that one public exhortation at one meeting, no, not at all. And there were three of us in English who didn't sign and all three were assistant professors.

LaBerge: Okay, so it was: you, Brewster--

Muscatine: Brewster Rogerson and Fussell. Ed Fussell--F-U-S-S-E-L-L.

LaBerge: And what happened to them?

Muscatine: Brewster Rogerson went to Kansas State and lived out his career there. Ed Fussell, I don't know where he went immediately, but he ended up at UC San Diego and retired from there.

LaBerge: Okay. They did not consider coming back?

Muscatine: Well, I'm certain that Rogerson either considered coming back--and he even came back but was not granted tenure. I've forgotten now what the situation of Ed Fussell was. I don't think he came back.

LaBerge: That seems like a pretty good number from one department.

Muscatine: Yes, it's exceeded by math, but only by math.

LaBerge: What were the relationships like between the signers and the non-signers through all of this?

Muscatine: Well, very cordial. It was a remarkable department. I think because they had been through bruising wars in the decade before and they were extremely determined to be civilized and remain so for several decades. No, I never felt--and the department was full of wonderful liberal people who for one reason or another felt they had to sign and who were very comforting, really, you know.

LaBerge: What about on the larger campus? Was it the same? Did you feel quite the same?

Muscatine: Well, you know, it's such a big campus that I didn't know any red hot oath people. I mean, there were people who said, "I would take an oath every day for breakfast. What's the problem?" [laughs] But I really didn't come into contact with any sort of overtly hostile or abusive behavior. There may well have been--you know, in recesses, places, resentment of me which may have come out later in other issues, I don't know. But I never felt it directly.

LaBerge: Now how about your wife? Do you think your wife did? Because I spoke with both the Tolman daughters and they felt their mother really suffered, that she was socially ostracized and lost friends.

Muscatine: Let's see, but she would have been established, and so well established, whereas my wife was just a newcomer and she knew mainly her fellow nursery school teachers at that time and people like that.

LaBerge: Yes, okay. Yes, that makes sense.

Muscatine: I was going to say something--what was it? I remember Lehman even going to the point of asking what I would think if they offered the Chaucer course next year.

LaBerge: They offered--

Muscatine: They offered it to someone else.

LaBerge: To someone else? And what did you--

Muscatine: Well, that was a decent thing to ask. I mean, that's a nice--

LaBerge: Yes, they could have just done it.

Muscatine: And I said, "You know, that's totally up to the department." I said I wouldn't have any objections.

LaBerge: And did they?

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: So who taught it?

Muscatine: I don't remember.

LaBerge: But it was being taught while you were here unemployed?

Muscatine: Yes. The only other academic regret was that I was scheduled to teach the Shakespeare lecture course that year and I never got to do it, of course. And I have the feeling that if I had stayed, I would have--it would have changed my career considerably, because I might have become a Shakespearean. But I didn't.

### **Support Outside the University**

LaBerge: Well, tell me about the outside world and what the support or nonsupport you got.

Muscatine: I did quite a bit of speaking around the Bay Area to various places. Some by invitation, some not. One of the most touching agencies of support was St. Albert's College in Oakland, the Dominican college. I wish I could remember the name of the president of the college, who really was the only one in the Bay Area that realized that we were scholars, without a place to operate. And so he invited us to come and give scholarly lectures, you know, and sort of revalidate our standing as members of that community.

But I also, I remember talking to the congregation at the big Jewish--what's the name of it in San Francisco?

LaBerge: Temple Emanu-El?

Muscatine: Temple Emanu-El at the invitation of the rabbi--and then John Francis Neylan spoke the next week, you know. And I spoke to groups as far off afield as Napa. But mainly these were situations in which communities wanted to know what was going on.

LaBerge: And was that hard for you to articulate?

Muscatine: No. [laughs]

LaBerge: You just ate it up?

Muscatine: Well, I didn't eat it up, but I had all the issues at my fingertips and didn't have much else to do, so pretty much--

LaBerge: It was like teaching, maybe.

Muscatine: Yes, exactly.

### **Wesleyan University, 1951-1953**

LaBerge: Well, how did the offer from Wesleyan come about?

Muscatine: Well, it came directly from the president of Wesleyan. Victor Butterfield was a wonderful, wonderful man, and I don't know exactly how he got my name or why me instead of somebody else--

LaBerge: Because you hadn't applied?

Muscatine: Oh, no. And I didn't know much about Wesleyan either, but it was the first offer I got. Later I got an offer from Yale and another one from Rochester, and I've forgotten several others. But it was a perfectly wonderful place to go to. Carl Schorske was there. Norman O. Brown was there. It was just a wonderfully lucky place to be. They had a wonderful collection of Old French literature in the library, and I was working on that very subject, so that it was just a piece of luck that I landed there.

LaBerge: What year did you go there?

Muscatine: Let's see, '51, I guess.

LaBerge: I suppose when you left you thought you were leaving for good? No?

Muscatine: No.

LaBerge: You knew it would blow over?

Muscatine: I didn't know it would blow over, but we were in the courts and we had won before the appellate court very nicely. I forgot now what happened, when in terms of the appellate case and the [California] supreme court case. No, I felt fairly confident on the constitutional grounds that we'd just win. I wasn't certain, of course, and I was quite disappointed when we won on grounds in the supreme court less than constitutional, to say the least.

### **House on Buena Vista Way**

LaBerge: Yes. I understand the year you were off that you were building a house?

Muscatine: Yes. [laughs]

LaBerge: So were you the general contractor?

Muscatine: Oh, no, no, no. I had asked Ben Lehman whether he thought it would be apropos for an assistant professor without tenure to buy a lot and build a house, and he said, "Why certainly not apropos, and just go ahead." We loved the town so much and we found this wonderful lot on Buena Vista Way, which was owned by the great geologist Andy Lawson who at the time was about eighty, I guess. It cost \$40 a front foot, but he gave me a discount because I was a colleague, so I think I paid \$36 a front foot for sixty-feet.

LaBerge: What's a front foot?

- Muscatine: Oh, let me see, that's not right. It's--yes, that's right, \$40 for a foot of the property, so sixty times forty. No, it couldn't have been. It was \$2,400 so it must have been--I'm not good at numbers. It was about \$2,400 for the lot. And we were always crazy about modern architecture, Frank Lloyd Wright and that sort of thing, and we found a wonderful architect who was a Frank Lloyd Wright protégé and we had him design this very little house.
- LaBerge: And what was his name?
- Muscatine: Langhorst. Fred Langhorst. And the house is fifty years old and it still looks as if it was designed yesterday.
- LaBerge: And you haven't added on?
- Muscatine: Oh, yes, to say the least. Anyhow, the house was practically done by the time I was fired. We moved in in January of 1950 and I guess I was fired in June or something like that. But we had to cut corners because we really didn't have enough money. I spent the year finishing the ceiling in the study and the concrete work on the paths outside and things like that.
- LaBerge: Now during that whole year, when there would be special regents' meetings, would you go?
- Muscatine: I didn't attend many regents' meetings. I attended a few.
- LaBerge: But mainly you were here?
- Muscatine: I was here, but I certainly paid attention to what was going on, to say the least.
- LaBerge: Right, you probably had another meeting after the fact to be briefed on it.
- Muscatine: Yes.

### **Friendships**

- LaBerge: Yes. What friendships did you make in your little group that maybe you might not have made?
- Muscatine: Well, I think we were all were very deeply bound together emotionally by this. I mean, there was a man named Walter Fisher who was an agricultural economist and a sort of very tall-standing Anglo-Saxon, Yankee-type from Kansas, whose specialty was the price of lemons. Now there's a person and a set of interests that I would never--
- LaBerge: Right. [laughter]
- Muscatine: And I must say he and I became very, very good friends, although I haven't seen him since--or perhaps only seen him once since the controversy.

LaBerge: So did he come back here?

Muscatine: No, he didn't come back. But then of course I became very close friends with Kantorowicz, you know, and Jack Loewenberg, the philosopher, and Edward [Tolman], of course. We all became wonderfully close to each other. Leonard Doyle, in business administration, I probably would never have met, you know. But a totally admirable person.

##

Muscatine: And Ludwig Edelstein, who was an absolutely superb person.

LaBerge: What did some of these people do afterwards? I mean I know what Kantorowicz--

Muscatine: Went to the Institute for Advanced Study. Edelstein went to Rockefeller University. Most of them landed on their feet, I can tell you. Oh, yes. Gian Carlo Wick became a professor at the University of Pittsburgh, I believe. Some I don't know. I don't know where Arthur Brayfield went. Let's see--

LaBerge: How many, like you, came back?

Muscatine: That's a good question. Eight or ten. I don't know. Some of them, you know, were old enough to almost retire by then, so I'm not sure whether that nice lady from mathematics--Pauline Sperry--whether she actually taught after she came back--

LaBerge: And Emily Huntington?

Muscatine: Emily actually signed the oath at the last minute.

LaBerge: Oh, did she?

Muscatine: That was a very tragic moment. Emily had a long-time female companion who was a lawyer and I think a rather strong woman, and I think that she finally talked Emily into signing. The legal mind at work. [laughs]

But Hans Lewy came back, for instance, and John Kelley. Yes, I should have a list in front of me so I can--

### **Group for Academic Freedom and the Lawsuit**

LaBerge: Okay. That's pretty good. Well, tell me about the Group for Academic Freedom, the group of those who really did not sign. Did you have continual meetings afterwards, to keep up your morale, or what did you do?

Muscatine: No, well, we had to meet fairly frequently because we had a lot of business to deal with.

LaBerge: Because of the lawsuit?

Muscatine: Because of the lawsuit, among other things, yes. And as I say, by that time we were really in charge of faculty policy, de facto. And during that time, since I was sort of the junior person, and therefore the secretary, therefore I answered the phone and I spent a lot of time in the office which we established in the Shattuck Hotel.

I had the printer design our stationery to imitate exactly the university's stationery. [laughter] Same typeface. And I had a lot of contact with faculty, much more contact than any assistant professor would dream of having, which--and this is an interesting part of it--which when the Free Speech Movement came along, allowed me to be in a very good position to become sort of the communications hub for the so-called Group of 200.

LaBerge: That's why we want to interview you. [laughs]

Muscatine: That's about it. I think I told you the whole thing. I told you the whole thing.

LaBerge: When the lawsuit was going on, would you go to those court hearings or not?

Muscatine: Oh, yes. Well, I went to--I think that I went to the appellate court hearings. I know I went to the appellate court hearings. I don't think I was in town for the [California] supreme court hearings.

LaBerge: Okay. What about the trial court? Would you have been put on the stand?

Muscatine: It was not a trial court.

LaBerge: Oh, it never was a trial court.

Muscatine: It was strictly an appellate. The first case was, you know, judged by judges, listened to by judges.

LaBerge: Tell me about how Stanley Weigel was chosen to represent the non-signers.

Muscatine: Stanley Weigel, I think, essentially volunteered, but I think he did it possibly through [Professor T.] Jack Kent. And you could check with Mary Kent about that. That's my impression. I associate the two of them. But I think Stanley was reading the papers, and he was at that time one of the attorneys for the state banking association and he was in partnership with a man named Ed Landels, who was I think quite a conservative person. But nevertheless he volunteered. We had some volunteers from some well-known radical lawyers, whom of course we wouldn't touch with a ten-foot pole. No, he was a godsend in the sense that he had all of these sort of conservative qualifications. He couldn't conceivably be thought of as a Communist-front person. He was a very idealistic man.

### **President Sproul and the Academic Senate**

LaBerge: Well, what was your take on President Sproul's role in all of this?

Muscatine: Well, it's hard to tell what my take was then from what my take is now. They've sort of merged.

LaBerge: Right, and did you know him personally?

Muscatine: No. Although, you know, all the members of the faculty felt that they knew him. He had a wonderful presence. And in those days the president presided at the meetings of the Academic Senate. So you felt as if you knew him. I think that I had a sort of grudging respect for him and felt that he deserved almost as much sympathy as blame--until he gave a speech at the Academic Senate in which he essentially urged the faculty to forget about the non-signers and he used the phrase, "The ashes of dead yesterdays." "Don't linger over the ashes of dead yesterdays," which stuck in our minds, of course. And I felt that that was really *infra dig*, to sort of urge the faculty to just drop us.

LaBerge: Both drop you financially--

Muscatine: The non-signers.

LaBerge: --and just drop you from their lives?

Muscatine: Yes. And at that point my estimation of him dropped. Later I began to feel pity for him.

LaBerge: Yes. Okay, I need to look at my notes a little to see what I'm forgetting to ask you. Did you have any contact with Governor Warren or Monroe Deutsch?

Muscatine: Not direct contact, no. I remember Monroe Deutsch. You can't imagine the difference between the Academic Senate of today and of those days. I mean, the Academic Senate of those days sounded like you imagined the Roman forum. You know, [laughs] these were people who had been trained in public speaking with a lot of passion. They could have been chemists, you know, they could have been physicists, mathematicians--Deutsch was a classicist, when he got up and addressed, boy, your hair stood on end, you know. These were real speakers and real people, you know. It was very impressive.

LaBerge: Alex Meicklejohn?

Muscatine: Alex Meicklejohn, yes, I knew him.

LaBerge: How was he involved, if at all?

Muscatine: He was peripheral in the sense that he was living in Berkeley--a very famous liberal academic--and he gave us a lot of aid and comfort. I met him and, you know, visited his home a lot. He was sort of a resident saint for the liberals.

### Children, Alison and Jeffrey

LaBerge: Now, since this time have you gotten politically involved? No?



Muscatine: [nodding "No."] My daughter is the chief of communications and press secretary for Hillary Clinton.

LaBerge: Oh, my gosh! [laughter]

Muscatine: But that's my daughter, not me. At the moment.

LaBerge: But you know, this might have filtered down.

Muscatine: Well, she certainly got a lot of liberal politics from us, in that sense, a liberal attitude.

LaBerge: Yes. Yes, okay. Is her last name Muscatine, or--

Muscatine: Well, she goes by Muscatine, yes.

LaBerge: What's her first name?

Muscatine: Lissa. L-I-S-S-A. Or Alison.

LaBerge: Okay, let's take an aside on that. How many children do you have?

Muscatine: I have two, a daughter and a son.

LaBerge: And what's your son's name?

Muscatine: Jeffrey. [spells]

LaBerge: Okay, not like Geoffrey Chaucer. [laughs] Or was it meant to be like that?

Muscatine: We couldn't see him spelling G-E-O-F-F, so--and Alison is of course a very Chaucerian name but my wife claims that that's not why we named her Alison.

### **Return to Berkeley**

LaBerge: Well, let's talk about how you decided to come back. And I know you talked about this at the symposium, but--

Muscatine: Well, Wesleyan wanted me to stay, and I had another offer--two offers or so--but we just loved Berkeley and just thought--and I think even almost because of the oath in the sense that, you know, if such marvelous things as the non-signers could arise, [laughs] this would be a good place.

And I think the discussion then was raised by Clark Kerr, who said, "You know, I wonder how to reconcile the great academic success of the university with this propensity for disorder and trouble." And it occurred to me that of course they're related--precisely, causally related. And that the trouble is a symptom of a very lively

culture, very interesting and very lively independence of culture. And that's also good for academia, for academic success. I can't imagine why he didn't see that.

LaBerge: Well, so were you recruited back, or did you keep the lines of communication open the whole time you were gone?

Muscatine: Oh, yes. Well, you know, letters. And I got wonderful notes from people in Berkeley when we finally won the case. And gee, I think that I--Berkeley's always been great, among other things because it's such a great place to live.

LaBerge: Yes, and had you kept your house?

Muscatine: Yes. If it were in the middle of Kansas, forget it. So, you know, I've gotten lots of offers, never been tempted to leave Berkeley.

LaBerge: Now do you know anything--this I've gotten out of George Stewart's book<sup>1</sup>--that there were three faculty spies for the regents? Do you know anything about that? No. Okay.

Muscatine: Does he mention who they were? [laughs]

LaBerge: No, he does not mention. That was just part of the--

Muscatine: Well, Larry Harper could have been one of them. I didn't know. [laughs] Well, I can imagine--

### **TAs and Students**

LaBerge: Now did you have any contact with TAs or staff who were not signing the oath?

Muscatine: I had in my notes something about TAs. This was a couple of months ago when we were--I don't remember what it was, but I think in retrospect that we paid too little attention altogether to the TAs and their plight--far too little attention. On the other hand, in those days TAs were not as big an item. They were TAs; they weren't wage slaves.

LaBerge: Yes. How about students? Did you get any reaction from students when this was all going on?

Muscatine: I don't remember any notable reactions to this, no.

LaBerge: Well, what do you think is the greatest effect--were you going to say something?

Muscatine: Well, just that you certainly wouldn't bring it--at least in the English department, you wouldn't bring it into class.

---

1. George R. Stewart, *The Year of the Oath* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1950)

LaBerge: Yes. I mean, you just came in and taught your lecture.

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: Because I know from Ralph Giesey that Professor Kantorowicz had seminars at his home and they really did talk about the oath.

Muscatine: Well, you know, he's in constitutional history. I mean, come on.

LaBerge: That's right. [laughter]

Muscatine: That's his field. But not my field. Yes.

LaBerge: But the difference in time--in this day and age, there'd be a group of students who would have an opinion and would be--

Muscatine: Oh, you bet!

LaBerge: Right.

Muscatine: You bet. Well, you know, in a way, this oath controversy broke in on a rather peaceful landscape. I mentioned at a meeting a couple of months ago, in fact, Doris and I used to complain to each other that there were no characters in Berkeley. At least in New Haven there had been two or three street people: Wall Street Rosie and Toastie Rosie, who were second-hand clothing dealers, who used to stand on the corners and buy expensive sports coats from Yale undergraduates who were temporarily out of funds and then sell them back to them later on. [laughs] And all we had in Berkeley was the Good Humor Man. It was really quite placid. South of campus was nothing. So in a way the oath controversy seems to have energized whatever was latent here. [laughs]

### **Faculty Governance**

LaBerge: And how do you think it changed the faculty or the faculty's involvement in university governance?

Muscatine: Well, my impression was that the faculty was extremely powerful even before the oath controversy. All it did, I think, was cement that. I mean, it would take a pretty daring Board of Regents to try to put anything over--or anybody else. One of the things that's wrong with the university, in fact, is that the faculty's too damn strong. [laughs] However, it's probably better that way than the other way.

### **Long-Term Effects**

LaBerge: Personally, what do you think that the long-range effects have been for you?

Muscatine: None, I think, except--I mean, I think my period at Wesleyan was one of the best things that ever happened to me intellectually. Because I was cooking my dissertation at the time, you see.

LaBerge: And was your dissertation on Chaucer?

Muscatine: Yes. And I published it--not until, when was it, '57 I published it. But I was working on it all during the Wesleyan years. And it was a hell of a lot better in '57 than it had been in '48, I'll tell you that. So intellectually it was a wonderful thing for me to be there.

And people have been so even-handed in terms of not penalizing you nor rewarding you for having been in this situation. There was a sort of policy decision made--I think, at pretty high levels on the campus. Although I recall that I was done in by the dean in terms of some sabbatical credit, [laughs] which I still resent. However--

LaBerge: Who was the dean?

Muscatine: [Alva R.] Sailor Davis.

LaBerge: Okay.

Muscatine: I don't think he wanted to give me sabbatical credit for the years I was away. Of course you could argue that I wasn't serving the university.

LaBerge: That's true.

Muscatine: Yes. So I don't think that--I think it's been pretty neutral.

LaBerge: Well, what do you think the long-term effects have been for the university?

Muscatine: Well, you know, Clark Kerr notwithstanding, I think that on balance--and David Gardner notwithstanding--I think the fact that the faculty did put up a fight and did gain a measure of success has meant a lot in terms of the faculty's own status. Also, as I say, the nature of the culture here. Because you know, you could ask yourself, and I'm maybe making too many claims, "Why did the Free Speech Movement occur here, for instance, and not in Chicago or UCLA or Harvard?" I don't know the answer to that question, but it certainly made the campus--Clark Kerr again notwithstanding--more hospitable to independent radical ideas. Even though I didn't--we weren't radical at all, as far as I'm concerned.

LaBerge: Although some people thought you were. Or assumed you were.

Muscatine: Well, I mean, to my mind, we were just fundamental constitutionalists. [laughs]

LaBerge: Yes. Anything else that--

Muscatine: I think you've done a very good job at asking questions.

LaBerge: Well, I'm going to think of more things, but you may also, when you get the transcript, think of something else or someone else you want to reflect on who isn't here to say

their piece, you know, either people who didn't come because of this that you knew of-- professors who turned down an offer--

Muscatine: I wouldn't have--

LaBerge: You wouldn't have known that.

Muscatine: Yes, I wasn't high enough on the totem pole to know that.

LaBerge: Okay, but clearly being so young, you certainly, you did make all those contacts that you would never have made.

Muscatine: Oh, yes, in terms of contact with campus, it was for me tremendously--although it wasn't useful in a sense that my scholarly career was advanced.

LaBerge: Right, right.

Muscatine: Unfortunately. But what happened was that my career was split in two, actually, and I became sort of a campus activist in various fields as well as a medievalist. If I'd stayed just a medievalist, I would have done a lot more, I'm sure. [laughs] Written more books.

LaBerge: Well, why don't we leave it there and I thank you very much.

Muscatine: All right. It's a great pleasure to talk with you.

### Interim Years

#### **English Department and Campus Atmosphere**

[Interview 2: July 25, 2000] ##

LaBerge: Last time we ended with the loyalty oath and you made a few observations that maybe there were some connections between the loyalty oath and the Free Speech Movement. We're going to launch into that. But I'd kind of like to get a couple in-between years, like when you came back to Berkeley from Wesleyan. Do you have any memory of the atmosphere on campus, either in your department or in the Academic Senate?

Muscatine: Oh, the atmosphere in the department was wonderful. It was absolutely no tension whatsoever. People were glad to see us come back. And as I may have said in the prior interview, I really didn't come into contact with the radical right during the loyalty oath. I heard them in the [academic] senate, but I never had any encounters with them--personal encounters with them--or anything unpleasant at all, and so it was perfectly

natural to come back. It felt as if we'd hardly been away. We had had wonderful letters from them, of course, after the final judicial judgment<sup>2</sup> came then, and it was very nice.

### Tenure, Manuscript, Fellowships

Muscatine: I was deep into the problems I was facing--namely tenure. I was still an assistant professor and I had, I guess, a year in which to finish my book. That's what they require. And I finished the book and submitted it to the department, and the department was gratifyingly pleased with it. [laughs]

LaBerge: Just for the tape, do you want to tell me the name of the book?

Muscatine: *Chaucer and the French Tradition*. It's still in print, by the way, which is not too bad.

Then I took a whole year after the department approved it, to re-write it. [laughs] It was finally published in '57.<sup>3</sup> And I promptly traded on the success of the manuscript to get a couple of fellowships, good for '58-'59, to study abroad.

We went to Italy for a year, where I was studying the influence of Boccaccio on Chaucer. And very early in our stay there Mario Praz, the principal Chaucerian on the Italian peninsula, asked me what I was doing, and I said, "I'm here to study *l'influenza di Boccaccio su Chaucer*." And he answered, there wasn't any. [laughter] So I said to my wife, "Well, Doris, that liberates me," and I set about learning Italian, which I really didn't know well. It was an absolutely invaluable year in terms of just general background for a medievalist, but I didn't get far with the project itself.

LaBerge: Well, were you required to submit a writing or something?

Muscatine: No, no. Fortunately most of our major grant-giving agencies in the humanities don't require anything but a brief report sometimes.

LaBerge: Okay. So that was a full year?

Muscatine: That was a full year we lived in Rome. Did a lot of traveling, of course.

LaBerge: Was that a Fulbright?

Muscatine: Let me think. I had two fellowships. I've forgotten now. One was a Fulbright, surely, and the other was probably from the American Council of Learned Societies.

LaBerge: Okay. And then you even had another one in '62.

Muscatine: From '62-'63 we had a year in Paris, and that was a Guggenheim and a Fulbright.

---

2. *Tolman v. Underhill*, 39 Cal. 2d 709 (1952)

3. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957

LaBerge: And what were you studying then?

Muscatine: I was studying the old French fabliaux, on which I finally, many years later, came out with a book.

LaBerge: What's the title of that?

Muscatine: *The Old French Fabliaux*.<sup>4</sup> [laughs] But it was a long time before I actually published that.

---

4. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.





### III THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, 1964-1966

#### Atmosphere on Campus

- LaBerge: Well, back on campus, what was going on? Do you remember what the students were like? Were the students actively engaged in their education, or were they interested in politics?
- Muscatine: That's a wonderful question and I'm ashamed--I really, I was so into teaching at that time, I was developing a big lecture course on Chaucer and other things, and I was so deep in the teaching then that I almost didn't pay attention to what the students were doing--and the book, you know. And then what I was going to do after the book. I'm amazed that I don't remember and probably if I had a chronology of the times I would remember. Certainly student activism and House Un-American Activities Committee [HUAC], if it was going by that time--
- LaBerge: That's right.
- Muscatine: I certainly remember that kind of trouble. But I certainly was not in it.
- LaBerge: How about any of your students involved in going South to demonstrate for civil rights?
- Muscatine: No, none of my particular students that I know of actually were in that, but I do remember, of course, when the Free Speech Movement broke out many of my students were involved in that. I remember going down to the city jail to put up bail for students. The English Department was full of activists at that time. [laughs]
- LaBerge: Both professors and students?
- Muscatine: Well, mostly students, I think, yes. Mostly students.
- LaBerge: Well, what's your first remembrance of the protests?

### **Initial Reaction to the Protests**

Muscatine: Well, I saw Jack Weinberg in the police car.

LaBerge: Had you known him before?

Muscatine: No, no. One of the curious things about my whole relationship to this movement is that I never, never had a conversation with any of the real principals of the Free Speech Movement. In the faculty there were persons, people who did talk to those students and knew them probably because they had them in class, but I, oddly enough, never had any--none of the ones that you've heard about--Bettina [Aptheker] and Mario [Savio]. I was strictly on the outside of that. Nor was I sufficiently into the administration to have any contact with them that way.

LaBerge: So you saw Jack Weinberg in the police car.

Muscatine: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: And do you want to just describe what was happening--what was going through your mind?

Muscatine: Well, I thought Jack Weinberg was terribly pleased--very surprisingly pleased [laughs] with the situation. And I was still in that stage--I've talked about it elsewhere--I'll repeat it for this record, but I was still sort of shocked.<sup>1</sup> I mean, I really had a kind of ivory tower mentality. I thought of the students in terms of their right to organize and so on on campus, but I didn't regard them as citizens of the campus. [It seemed to me] they're only here four years and not full years anyhow, you know. We're the ones who are here all the time. It's our place. I thought: why don't they be active in Hayward or Sacramento or wherever the hell they come from? And it took me a little while, gradually during the Free Speech Movement, to accept the fact that this was their place, and I'd forgotten that when I was an undergraduate, I regarded it as my place. [laughs]

LaBerge: Yes, yes.

Muscatine: And even up to the momentous meeting when Mario Savio was dragged off by the cops when he tried to intervene in Clark Kerr's speech--

LaBerge: At the Greek Theatre.

Muscatine: Greek Theatre [December 7, 1964]. Even at that point, although I was, generally speaking, in favor of the Free Speech Movement, at that time I still remember myself being horrified that Mario would try to interrupt these civilized proceedings by walking onto the stage. So I was very slow, I think, as a participant, although my political sympathies were with them right from the start. I still remember a kind of outrage I felt, that order was dissolving. Of course after I got tear-gassed once or twice and my little daughter got tear-gassed on the way to junior high school, I felt more militant. [laughs]

1. See interview excerpts in *The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960s* by David Lance Goines (Berkeley, California: Ten Speed Press, 1993).

- LaBerge: And was this during this period, or later?
- Muscatine: No, no, this was later. This was later.
- LaBerge: Well, it was different from the loyalty oath protest, which was orderly.
- Muscatine: Yes, yes, definitely very different.
- LaBerge: And yet, did you see the issues as being somewhat the same when you could step back and look at it?
- Muscatine: Oh, yes, I appreciated the issues. I don't think that I was--as I say, I was in sort of a scholarly cocoon in those years, and I didn't think I was as fully and as sensitively aware of what was going on in the country--what was going on in the South. Of course I was outraged by some of the things that happened, but I was really, you know, in the ivory tower a good deal of that time.

### **Administration's Stance**

- LaBerge: What did you think of the administration? And maybe this is from retrospect--maybe you weren't aware of it going on either--but how the chancellor handled things or the dean of students or the president?
- Muscatine: Yes, well, I knew [Chancellor Edward] Ed Strong pretty well. We were both members of the same--the Arts Club. And I had also witnessed the very touching moment during the oath controversy when he announced that he was signing the oath. It was heartbreaking because he was one of those who was heart and soul against it. He even told us at that moment--this was during the oath controversy when the non-signers were at one of their periodic meetings--he announced that he was heart and soul against the oath and that if this statement of opposition to the oath were ever detached from his signature on the oath, then he would resign. I don't know what that meant except that it was heartbreaking.

I knew him and I sympathized with him but there was a kind of pathos in his whole behavior and his whole--it was widely felt, I think, that [President] Clark Kerr did not want a very strong chancellor at Berkeley and that Ed Strong filled the bill, and that as a result he was not really able to cope with the situation with as much balance and self-assurance. He tended to be more defensive and wouldn't--there were many times during the Free Speech Movement when he was the one who said, "No, I won't do this. I won't do that. They can't get away with it." It was a rigidity that might have suggested a certain deepness of resolve. In any case, I felt that he in some way came off worst among all--

The deans came off pretty well, I thought, in general. There was a lady dean [of students] named Katherine Towle--who I thought behaved with a lot of dignity and there was dean of men--

- LaBerge: Arleigh Williams?
- Muscatine: Williams, also, I thought came off quite well, considering his position. And I don't know when [Vice Chancellor] Alex Sherriffs got into the picture. I think it was later on. And he, of course, was not to be admired by my [group]. [laughs]
- LaBerge: Could you elaborate on that?
- Muscatine: Well, Alex actually came very early on [during the loyalty oath] when the non-signers established an office in the Shattuck Hotel.
- LaBerge: Oh, really?
- Muscatine: He and one of his colleagues--it may have been Rheem Jarrett--he and another of his colleagues came over to sort of visit and I thought in a relatively friendly way, so I was shocked when he became such a conservative and anti-student administrator--just shocked. I was so stunned. But at this moment I don't recall any specific incidents. I was just shocked with this turnaround. But then a lot of people turned around sooner or later in the course of this. [laughs]

**Disillusionment: Joe Tussman and Tussman Tech**

- LaBerge: In the course of the Free Speech Movement or in the course of the whole sixties?
- Muscatine: Yes, in the course of the Free Speech Movement people got disaffected with the students--mainly fatigued. Like John Searle, for instance, I think changed his views. I think even Joe Tussman--this was well along in the seventies, probably--became disillusioned with student--graduate student culture and so on.
- LaBerge: Was that, too, when Tussman Tech was still in existence?
- Muscatine: Yes, I think Tussman Tech did it to him.
- LaBerge: Because the students in Tussman Tech or just--
- Muscatine: The graduate student faculty. He had a faculty of graduate students and I think--I'll have to refresh my memory on this, but I think that that was essentially a pot culture and God knows what else, and he just couldn't cope with that.
- LaBerge: And did it sort of bring down, or you know, make Tussman Tech collapse?
- Muscatine: I think so. He's written about it and I'm going to--before I talk to you again about Strawberry Creek, I think I'll read his little book.
- LaBerge: Oh, great.

Muscatine: In fact, I'm told he's writing another book, or maybe just has written again about that. But I'm sure that it folded because he just got sick of dealing with these people.

LaBerge: Well, how about the students you were teaching? I mean, were your classes ongoing all during this?

Muscatine: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: And did students come and participate?

Muscatine: In what?

### **Posting Bail for Students with Charlie Sellers**

LaBerge: In your classes? Or did they strike?

Muscatine: Well, I think the students--there was a strike as I recall, yes, and a lot of them didn't turn out. I think I took the view--as I recall, I probably kept my classes going as an obligation to God, or somebody. [laughs] But I certainly was sympathetic with them. And one of my most vivid memories is being down in a line at City Hall or somewhere--the jail. And I met Charlie Sellers in the line and this was the beginning of a long and beautiful friendship with Charlie. And we were both down there to bail out students.

LaBerge: Had someone called you at home? Or did you just decide to go down?

Muscatine: I just went down, yes. I knew that quite a few of my students were being held, so--

LaBerge: And so anyway, you remember meeting Charlie Sellers. Did something happen there?

Muscatine: Well, I think we--we had possibly known each other before then, but the fact that we were both there on the same mission was very nice for both of us. And Charlie was one of the three people who founded Strawberry Creek College later.

LaBerge: Oh, okay. I think in Arleigh Williams' oral history he mentioned that you were someone who found a venue for students for a meeting.

Muscatine: I don't remember that.

LaBerge: There was a meeting where students could come to get legal counsel. And it couldn't be held on campus. I'm not sure of the date of this. It couldn't be held on campus because it wasn't a campus event.

Muscatine: I have no recollection. [laughs]

LaBerge: People's memories are not always, you know, on target and maybe it was somebody else.

Muscatine: Yes, right.

### **Committee of 200 Resolutions**

LaBerge: What about the Committee of 200? Did you have something to do with that?

Muscatine: Yes, I had a lot to do with it. This is where the connection comes from the loyalty oath. Of course there was always on campus a kind of critical mass of liberal faculty who more or less knew each other and who were certainly brought into a more self-conscious existence in the loyalty oath. And when the Free Speech Movement broke out, and it was clear that there was going to be faculty action of some sort or other, I think we naturally gravitated to the folkways that we had developed during the loyalty oath and the essential one was communication. You can't--it's hard to imagine that there was no e-mail. [laughs]

LaBerge: Can you imagine today? [laughter]

Muscatine: Can you imagine what e-mail would do for you if you wanted to bring people together in a hurry? It would be just a snap. So I don't know whether it was myself, but we had used the so-called telephone tree in the loyalty oath controversy and I guess I or somebody else may have just thought, "Let's each one of us,"--maybe there were ten of us at this meeting--"call one or two people and ask them to call one or two people," and before long--do the arithmetic--you'll have a couple hundred--and this is exactly what we did.

LaBerge: Who were the others in that original group?

Muscatine: Oh, the ones you would expect. Let's see, Henry Nash Smith, and Tom Parkinson, and oh, gosh, Carl Schorske. Oh, what's his name, the other historian who spoke so beautifully at the meeting for the history department? Zelnick. Reggie Zelnick, and Howard Schachman. John Searle, probably. Those are some of the names.

Anyway, the question was how do we communicate, and I became overnight the sort of communications officer of the 200. It was my phone number in 411 Wheeler where you phoned if you wanted to do something. So for a long time I even had the phone manned by graduate students when I wasn't there, so it was the sort of central telephone for the 200. And I think that sort of communications and organizational habit that had grown up in the loyalty oath was just reestablished in the Free Speech Movement.

LaBerge: And what were you, that committee, trying to do?

Muscatine: Well, we were trying to hammer out a policy that the faculty could believe in. We were also trying, I think, to head off a contrary policy that was being developed really by the chairman or the group headed by Professor [Robert] Scalapino, I believe, who was chair of political science, who essentially was the spokesperson for [President] Clark Kerr.

- LaBerge: Oh, I remember reading that Clark Kerr met with all the department chairmen, so was this--
- Muscatine: This was it, yes.
- LaBerge: As opposed to the Academic Senate or--
- Muscatine: Yes, and there was some feeling that the chairmen were going to seize the prerogatives from the Academic Senate. In fact, de facto that's what they were doing. They were making decisions. And you may recall that at the meeting when Mario Savio was dragged off the stage, only Clark Kerr and Professor Scalapino were scheduled to speak. So that was--
- LaBerge: And Professor Scalapino didn't have a position in the Academic Senate like a chair?
- Muscatine: No, but one could have imagined him as the chancellor-elect very easily. [laughs] Very easily.
- LaBerge: Well, that's interesting then that he didn't become the chancellor.
- Muscatine: Because they were defeated.
- LaBerge: I see. Okay.
- Muscatine: I think. I mean, I think it's a safe--
- LaBerge: Well, what was Martin Meyerson's position then?
- Muscatine: He succeeded Ed Strong.
- LaBerge: But before that was he--
- Muscatine: No, I think he was sort of acceptable to both sides. He was chair of art or architecture-- architecture and city planning. He was dean, maybe. I think he was suitably neutral. Now this is my guess. I don't know much about the politics.
- LaBerge: Well, that's what we'd like to hear--what your impressions were.
- Muscatine: Yes, right.
- LaBerge: Okay, so you were trying to head off this other group. And did you come up with a plan?
- Muscatine: Well, our group came up with the December--was it seventh?
- LaBerge: Seventh or eighth, yes.
- Muscatine: Yes, December whatever it was our group wrote those resolutions.
- LaBerge: So you wrote them, and then the whole faculty came--

Muscatine: Then the whole faculty came together and approved them [December 8, 1964].

LaBerge: At Wheeler--is that right?

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: So who presented them? Did you get up on the stage, or were you in the back?

Muscatine: I don't know. I really don't remember now. One could find out in the history. But I was not--

LaBerge: Did you get up and speak?

Muscatine: God knows. I spoke a lot in the Academic Senate, but I don't know whether I spoke on that occasion or not.

LaBerge: Yes. But this is the meeting where it was broadcast outside, so that everyone could hear.

Muscatine: Yes, right.

LaBerge: Well, what was going on in the Academic Senate during this fall period, if you remember?

Muscatine: Well, in a way, the Academic Senate only exists when it meets, as it were.

And I think that the Academic Senate was not as such--there may have been some committees operating, you know. There was a Heyman committee, yes. I think that was a point--

LaBerge: Investigating the students.

Muscatine: I think maybe that Chancellor Strong had appointed that committee. But I don't know. I really don't remember. But I don't remember that the Academic Senate independently was doing anything that was very important. There were so many of its own members that were either on one side or the other. [laughs] Took up all the air, you know.

### **Reflections on Clark Kerr and the Regents**

LaBerge: Well, what would your assessment be of Clark Kerr's handling of the situation?

Muscatine: At the time I was more hostile to Clark Kerr than I am now in retrospect. And I can remember a meeting when my colleague Tom Parkinson, who didn't know what the party line was for some reason that week, got up at a meeting and made a motion highly favorable to Clark Kerr at a certain moment. And I can remember tugging at him saying, well, saying, "Tom, no, that's not it." [laughs] He was being perfectly honest. He admired and respected Clark. Oh, I did, too. Oh, I did, too, but at that moment we



were mad as hell at Clark Kerr for something or other and in retrospect I now see that he wasn't as bad as he seemed at the time.

LaBerge: How about the regents? You had a history with the regents before.

Muscatine: I mean, just name "regents," and my gorge rises. [laughs] I really don't have any balance concerning the regents. Sorry.

LaBerge: Governor [Edmund G. "Pat"] Brown?

Muscatine: I certainly respect Governor Brown. He was okay. You know, the regents didn't say hooray when the faculty made those [December 8] resolutions, but they never overturned them. They were essentially confirmed, so somebody was doing some good work on the regents.

LaBerge: But you don't know who. Well, how did you feel about the police being brought to campus then?

Muscatine: Oh, I was absolutely horrified by that. That again is another sign of, you know, invasion. It was totally horrifying to send the police on campus in uniform--horrifying.

### **The Filthy Speech Movement, 1965, and Cultural Implications**

LaBerge: Did you go to any of the rallies and hear the speakers, or would you kind of avoid it?

Muscatine: Oh, no, I went to quite a few of the rallies and heard quite a few of the speeches. And I remember even speaking at one or two rallies. I remember during the so-called Filthy Speech Movement--

LaBerge: Okay, which was like right after this--1965.

Muscatine: --which was right after this. And I felt that they had won [during the Free Speech Movement]. The students had won, and now they were somehow going back into the pit. And I remember giving an impassioned speech on Sproul steps: "Now that you've won, why are you throwing it away, all of your hard-won gains?"

I didn't realize, of course, that the Filthy Speech Movement was a cultural event of enormous proportions--far out of proportion to the Free Speech Movement in the sense that it really was a dramatization of something that was happening in American culture--as having to do with speech! And if you listen to any afternoon television show that was after these days, you hear words that were not spoken in public before that. I had been studying the problem of obscenity as a cultural phenomenon through my interest in the fabliaux, which are, as you may know, comic and obscene stories of the thirteenth century. I had been working on--

##

- LaBerge: Okay, you were talking about the fabliaux and vulgarity.
- Muscatine: Yes, and I was writing articles about the so-called vulgarity in fabliaux which I claimed in the thirteenth century had not been vulgar. The words and the ideas had not been vulgar until the invention of courtliness and gentility, and that gentility suddenly made a whole area of human behavior vulgar.
- LaBerge: Which happened when--in the fourteenth or fifteenth?
- Muscatine: Thirteenth century and thereabouts. And Blue Laws and gentility as far as language was concerned developed apace during the following centuries. And now here was this man, Thompson, who was getting up and using four letter words in public and he was sort of reversing the cultural trend and making four letter words, or trying to make four letter words acceptable again as ordinary parlance. So I felt it was a big historical thing. [laughs] But that's another story.
- LaBerge: Well, it's interesting, that observation.
- Muscatine: Well, you know, I'd been in the navy. There were people in the navy--usually regular navy personnel in World War II were lineal descendants of naval personnel in the eighteenth century, who were lineal descendants of the British navy, who were lineal descendants of ordinary people in the thirteenth century, I felt. And they were the kind of people who only had one language, you know. A lot of what we would have called obscene language was to them ordinary parlance. I felt this sort of continuity of what we call vulgar language going all the way back. That's what helped me sort of see or develop this theory, that it only became "vulgar" in the modern sense when you had a genteel class, which was invented in the Middle Ages.
- LaBerge: Do you remember anything about Lincoln Constance's role in all of this? I'll just throw out some names to see if--
- Muscatine: I loved Lincoln Constance. I served under him as assistant dean of the college for a couple of years and I just loved him. I think he's a wonderful person. But I don't remember any overt relationship he had with this.
- LaBerge: Okay. And you mentioned John Scarle. How about Mike Heyman and his committee?
- Muscatine: I didn't know Mike then.

### **Vietnam War Activism**

- LaBerge: Okay. Well, just to carry on with the social protest and everything, is this when the Filthy Speech Movement happened, and then more anti-war movement?
- Muscatine: Vietnam. Well, I got deeper and deeper into activism.
- LaBerge: Okay, why don't you tell me about that?

Muscatine: Well, the climax came when I took a group of students over to the peninsula--what high school it was, I don't remember. It was a Burlingame high school and there was a kind of miscommunication. My impression was that the principal of this school was interested in having his students learn about the controversy and we were coming over-- [laughs] And I guess he didn't realize that we were the liberal side, because we went to one class and had a wonderful talk with the students, and then we were going to another class and while we were in the other class, someone came into the room and said, "The principal wants to talk to you." [laughs] And in short, he threw us off campus because he had not understood that we were going to take this liberal point of view.

LaBerge: About the Vietnam War.

Muscatine: About the Vietnam War, yes. So that was the high point or the low point of my real hands-on activism.

LaBerge: The students you brought were all English students, or did you get to meet other students?

Muscatine: I think they were probably all English graduate students.

LaBerge: Well, how did you get involved in the antiwar movement and what was happening? Was there a group of faculty that were involved or was it just everything happening on campus?

Muscatine: It was just a generalized involvement as far as I was concerned. I was not--I didn't stop any trains, I didn't go on any marches, unfortunately. I'm not really a very political person. But finally I felt that I had to do something so I went to this high school.

LaBerge: Somebody must have contacted you to say, "Will you bring some students?"

Muscatine: I don't remember.

LaBerge: Maybe they just knew that you were--

Muscatine: I don't know.

LaBerge: How about when the campus was shut down for teach-ins or something like that? Did you get involved in that?

Muscatine: Oh, I think I must have. I don't remember, but I must have. And I must have had discussion groups and classes and seminars and so on. I'm being disappointing, I know. The political scientists had a field day, of course. This is their stuff! I mean, to me it was you know, matters of conscience, but they're professionals.

LaBerge: Yes, and having nothing to do with Chaucer--

Muscatine: Well, I'm not that narrow. [laughs]

### Academic Senate Oratory

LaBerge: But during all this time, were you still involved in Academic Senate committees?

Muscatine: Yes, we all were. We all did something like that.

LaBerge: Have you seen a change in the Academic Senate from, say, the loyalty oath period to the Free Speech Movement period to now?

Muscatine: Oh, well, I haven't been to a faculty meeting in a long time, but I imagine that it's so much duller and so much less--well, during the loyalty oath, as I may have said, there were people on the campus like Monroe Deutsch who was a classicist who really believed in the forum of Athens, or wherever. When he got up to speak, you know, you could hear it resonating through the walls. And there were a lot of other people who had been trained maybe in the nineteenth century rhetorical tradition of speech, who--and these were orators, I really felt. I began to feel this is the classical definition of political oratory.

Well, by the time of the Free Speech Movement that had diminished by a good deal, but there was a lot of passion. And I think by now it's pretty tepid. It's probably pretty tepid stuff.

LaBerge: Maybe because there's not an issue that--

Muscatine: Not only that, but also the people who are in the university now are not really trained in the grand tradition of humanism, even though they're--even the scientists during the loyalty oath were people behind whom you could feel humanities and rhetoric and history, you know. And now there are a lot of mechanics, as far as I'm concerned. [laughs]

LaBerge: Well, if you look at the Free Speech Movement, do you see a time that was the turning point? Was it that meeting at Wheeler Hall?

Muscatine: I think that meeting was probably near as you could come to the turning point.

LaBerge: When you bailed students out, did you bring them back to campus? Did you bring them to your home? What did you do?

Muscatine: You know, I don't even remember. [laughs] I don't even remember. Sorry.

LaBerge: It's okay. How did your family feel about this? You mentioned your daughter getting tear-gassed later on, but what--and where were they at this point? Anybody on campus?

Muscatine: No, no, both kids were in public school. I remember my daughter was in--Willard, is it? Down there south of campus. She used to cross the campus every day to get to school, so she was continually in danger. But my wife, of course, is a staunch liberal and strictly pro-student.

LaBerge: I'm just going to check my--to see if there's something else.

**Select Committee on Education, 1965-1966**

Muscatine: Well, I was trying to think myself of something. Well, in '66, of course, started the Select Committee [on Education] business of--I was involved, and that was a Free Speech Movement fallout.

LaBerge: Right. We might save that for another session on undergraduate education? Or do you want to go on with it?

Muscatine: Why not?

LaBerge: Fine, okay. Let's talk about the repercussions of the Free Speech Movement.

Muscatine: Well, I think it was one of the great events of American history. I think it was a truly historical event because I think it had a lot of resonance in the antiwar movement--a lot. I think it taught--I may be making too many claims for it, but I think it taught undergraduates all over the country, you know, that they could stand up and be counted. And I think it did. It wasn't the only thing. Certainly the kids that had been in the South, maybe even more. But I think it had a tremendous resonance for the war. And that of course had a tremendous resonance for American history, so I think in a way, it was a very significant--very significant event.

LaBerge: And as far as education, and education specifically on this campus?

Muscatine: Well, oddly enough, it set a lot of faculty members thinking about education. But I don't think it set a lot of the students--[laughs]--but we can talk about that later, if you like. The students may have had ideas about education, but if so, they were so intimately bound up with their politics that they were possibly so radical that it really wasn't--we weren't able to cope with them. I had in my files a review of our select committee report in 1966 by one of the primary activists in the Free Speech Movement--his name was Michael Rossman. I think I'll read it, maybe. And maybe I'll have more to say about where they stood. But it was a scathing report, although they had not contributed a single minute to our deliberations or thoughts, et cetera.

LaBerge: So it was a scathing report of your--

Muscatine: Yes, it's a scathing review of our report (1966).

LaBerge: Well, did this committee that you were chairman of, the select committee, was that a direct outcome do you think of the Free Speech Movement?

Muscatine: Oh, absolutely.

LaBerge: Okay, tell me how that came about.

Muscatine: Sometime after that December meeting, somebody in the Academic Senate got up and said a special select committee should be appointed to look into education on the Berkeley campus, and one could look up that resolution. It was definitely, definitely, as

a result of the Free Speech Movement. The questions were, How did this happen? What's our relationship to the students? How do we feel about their education?

There used to be an all-university faculty conference that met every year, usually in Davis. It was a wonderful event--wonderful wine and food. People from all over the state would come and discuss "things." And I guess I had been asked and I don't know why I was asked, but I did a paper on the impact of technology on teaching. This was just coming into view. And I think it was Bill Fretter who then may or may not have been an assistant dean, or something in the Academic Senate, who I remember was sort of taken with it. I never thought more about it until I was invited to be chair of this committee, but it was the only thing about education I'd ever written or even thought about. [laughs]

LaBerge: So this was kind of the beginning--

Muscatine: Don't ask me why I accepted the honor, because it ruined my life for a long time. [laughter]

LaBerge: Do you want to talk about that now or later, how it ruined your life?

Muscatine: I mean, from 1964 or '65 when this happened, until God knows, until 1980, I was deeply involved in educational matters. So the publication of the report got me into the whole national picture on higher education. I spent many years just going around the country giving talks and attending conferences and, you know, being an education person. In fact, a lot of people around the country don't know I'm a Chaucerian; they think I'm an education professor or something.

LaBerge: Really! [laughter]

Muscatine: So I had this second hat, and I tell you, it was a disaster in terms of my scholarly career, because I obviously would have written a lot more of a scholarly nature. On the other hand, down deep in my guts I really feel that it's more important than scholarship. So there you are.

LaBerge: So it didn't really ruin--it was a great contribution.

Muscatine: Well, whatever it was, mostly failures, but I tried. I'm still writing--I'm writing this book and another--another whack [laughs] at the same old subject. Just as, you know, I always taught freshman English.

LaBerge: Even when you were--

Muscatine: Every single year that I can remember.

LaBerge: Just one class of it?

Muscatine: Well, the English department had a great tradition when I first joined it: everybody teaches freshman English, which means that there's no slave class. And I never got out of the habit. I taught freshman English up until my last year. I think I may have been the only full professor in that department teaching freshman English by that time. And

I think that expresses my really deep concerns for sort of basic education, as opposed to refinements of scholarship.

### **Statewide Committee on Educational Policy**

LaBerge: Well, I noticed--and I didn't ask you about this--before the Free Speech Movement, you were on a statewide Academic Senate Committee on Educational Policy, vice chair. How did that come about?

Muscatine: It's a joke. It's a joke. I don't know. I mean, they needed somebody. I have no idea. I knew nothing about educational policy or curriculum. We went to this meeting and, as a matter of fact, I believe it was at a time when the College of Letters and Science for the first time in thirty years, and not since, had changed its basic requirements for the bachelor's degree. I remember voting for the so-called division of the breadth requirements--it was social science, natural science, and humanities. You probably experienced that yourself--which I felt was a reasonable thing to do.

Well, during that time we abolished, I believe, the requirement that everybody take a course in philosophy--and other archaic requirements which I think were probably much more important than these awful breadth requirements, which all they do is divide the turf, you know. And when I think of how little I knew about curriculum or education and how confidently I voted for this stuff, you know, it strikes me that most faculty members were and are in that same situation now. They haven't thought about curriculum worth a damn and all they do is defend turf. So that was the extent of my--say, contributions in educational policy.

LaBerge: So you were put on that committee and you voted.

Muscatine: Yes, and it was fun to go and meet other people and you know--.

### **Assistant Dean, 1956-1960**

LaBerge: Well, also you mentioned you were assistant dean of the College of Letters and Science under Lincoln Constance. How did you get appointed to that?

Muscatine: Oh, God knows. I think--you know, Lincoln had a hard job getting assistant professors to serve because assistant professors are under the gun. And I don't know why I--I guess part of this sort of idea that I'm interested in students. I served for a couple of years there. I've forgotten how many.

LaBerge: Well, maybe I got this from your vitae--four years, '56 to '60.

Muscatine: Okay.

LaBerge: Did that involve advising students, or what did it involve?

Muscatine: It involved adjudicating cases, mainly of students in difficulties, whether they should be kicked out or retained or admitted--that sort of thing. It was a quasi kind of advising. You would read a case, as it were, and make your pitch for this kid, you know. I remember one kid who was really a bad case and I--I don't know why--but I had an idea that he had some qualities, so I voted real hard for readmitting him or something like that, and he became a very successful dentist. And oh, up to ten years ago, he was still sending me presents. [laughter] But unfortunately he had also become a riotously vocal right-wing person. I don't know whether I'm glad I got him readmitted or not. [laughter]

### **Faculty Contact during FSM**

LaBerge: Oh, that's so funny. Well, do you have any other comments on the Free Speech Movement, or things that are mulling around in your head? Why did it happen here?

Muscatine: Well, this is--I still, I still don't know why it happened here, but I sort of know--I gave the oath controversy some credit for it. In sort of creating that aura of dissent. And I don't know what else to say. Certainly it's odd that it happened here; I now am astonished at what a respectable historical event it has become. [laughs] When you think of that café in the library. Mario Savio is an icon. It's quite marvelous.

LaBerge: Exactly. The fact that the university was growing at that time, the new campuses, was any of that a part of this? Was there any jealousy between the campuses, or politics?

Muscatine: By that time, the sixties, Berkeley still wasn't really recognizing the existence of the other campuses. In fact, I don't know whether it does, yet. [laughter] No, I don't think that was an involvement, really. We're so unlike any other campus.

LaBerge: When you've been a visiting professor elsewhere, have you noticed a difference between Berkeley students and other students?

Muscatine: Berkeley is just vibrant and colorful in ways that other campuses aren't. And I don't know why it is. Whether it's the California melting pot, among other--I taught for a summer at the University of Washington, I taught at Wesleyan, of course, for two years, and that's an Ivy League, white campus--there was no--. But when I go over to Stanford, you can sense that, you know, these are two very different places--very different places. And of course Berkeley's a much more interesting mix.

LaBerge: Well, do you want to launch into the special select committee, or do you want to save that for another time?

Muscatine: Well, I haven't really, you know, thought about it for you, so maybe it would be nice to save it.



- LaBerge: That's perfect, because I would just as soon go over it again, too. Anything else on the Free Speech Movement, or you could add it when you see the transcript?
- Muscatine: Yes. At the moment I don't --
- LaBerge: Okay, so shall we--[tape break]
- Muscatine: But all of these crises, whether it's the loyalty oath or the Free Speech Movement, are wonderful for the faculty in terms of contact with each other. I would never have met [Howard] Schachman, you know--and other wonderful people or a person in agricultural economics or business administration. We just don't cross paths. And that was one of the great pay-offs of this experience. It really would get you to the middle of campus to meet everybody.
- LaBerge: How about Leon Wofsy, did you know him?
- Muscatine: Yes, Wofsy, oh, yes, yes.
- LaBerge: Because I know he's been interviewed.
- Muscatine: Well, Leon was much more political and much more radical than most of us. He was a real firebrand for that.
- LaBerge: Was he in that Committee of 200?
- Muscatine: I'm sure he was. If he wasn't at first, he shortly was.
- LaBerge: Were there any consequences for faculty who either got involved or didn't get involved because of this, do you think?
- Muscatine: I don't think there were any. I think a couple of members of the faculty--whose names I now don't remember--in outlying departments took up the student point of view in their own courses to, you know, an extreme degree. And I think they may very well have suffered retribution in terms of maybe not getting promoted as fast. Now people who were giving all A's because all men are created equal or [laughs] that sort of stuff--you know, there were a couple of crazy--might even have been in the education department, perhaps. I could probably dredge up names if I tried. But otherwise, no. Most of these people who were involved in this--Henry Nash Smith, [Carl] Schorske--were giants intellectually. Nobody could touch them, you know--and [John] Scarle. Nobody could touch them as professors, as intellects.

### **More on the Free Speech Movement**

[Interview 3: August 30, 2000] ##

- LaBerge: When we finished last time, we were talking about the Free Speech Movement, and I have just a few follow-up questions. And one is, were there other people in the English

department who were particularly supportive of the Free Speech Movement or particularly non-supportive who should be interviewed or whom you have reflections on?

Muscatine: Henry Nash Smith is dead; he was, I think, the principal one.

LaBerge: Who was supportive?

Muscatine: Supportive, yes. People who were not supporters in a fairly liberal department, generally tended to shut up [laughter]. So, there's no outstanding, hot-headed, anti-FSM person. I can name one or two people that I would have known were cool to the FSM, but I mean--. Ernest Tuveson, for instance, is not with us any longer. Great people like Bertrand Bronson, I think were, sort of, above the fray.

D. Muscatine: Jim Caldwell.

Muscatine: Jim Caldwell was in favor, wasn't he? Thank you, dear. There really are not in English--I don't remember any really outstanding people I would want to--Mark Schorer, I think, was in favor. If I had a catalogue from those days, I could probably do a lot better.

LaBerge: The other thing was: were you aware before that of kind of a gathering criticism of the multiversity?

Muscatine: You mean before the Free Speech Movement?

LaBerge: Before the Free Speech Movement broke out?

Muscatine: No, I wasn't. I was too busy writing my book. Going to Italy and other fun things.

LaBerge: Then the last one is: had you ever spoken about or written anything about Clark Kerr's book, *The Uses of the University*?

Muscatine: No. I didn't like it much, but I didn't--

LaBerge: But you hadn't ever--?

Muscatine: No. As far as I'm--what was the date of that, do you happen to know?

LaBerge: I don't know. I know it was the sixties, but I don't know when [1963]. Why didn't you like it, or is that too much--?

Muscatine: Well, I think I sensed, even then, what turned out to be a really major development of the university into a commercial establishment and I didn't like it much. The phrase the "knowledge business," or the "knowledge industry" rubbed me the wrong way to start with. And indeed I wrote some pretty hot things afterwards in reference to that idea. I remember [Professor] Page Smith wrote a book on education and used one of my comments about the "knowledge industry" as the head of one of the chapters [laughing]. He remembered it.

- LaBerge: Well, I know in this speech you gave at Davis<sup>2</sup>--this one here--talking about technology--
- Muscatine: I haven't looked at this.
- LaBerge: Well, you talked about that, kind of the language that was being used in reference to higher education that was referring to it as an industry.
- Muscatine: And this is '64?
- LaBerge: Yes.
- Muscatine: Well that's nice. I'm glad [laughing]--
- LaBerge: And faculty output and input and just words that didn't describe education--
- Muscatine: Faculty input and output.
- LaBerge: Yes. And even referred to Clark Kerr.
- Muscatine: Did I? Good God, that was politically unwise I'm sure.
- LaBerge: It was a nice reference saying you forgave him, something about if he was in the business--
- Muscatine: Yes, I could almost forgive President Kerr. [laughter] In the "knowledge industry."

---

2. "The Impact of Technology on Teaching: The Case for the Teacher," given at Nineteenth All-University Faculty Conference, March 22-25, 1964. See Appendix.



#### IV SELECT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, 1965-1966

##### Appointment of the Committee

- LaBerge: That's very interesting that that was just March, 1964, and then the Free Speech Movement was the fall '64. Last time we talked you said that you think you were appointed to this special committee because you had given this speech.
- Muscatine: Well, it was the only connection I'd had with publicly thinking about education. I still don't know who or why or--I think that [Dean of College of Letters and Science William B.] Bill Fretter may have had something to do with that. I don't remember whether he was a dean then. I think [Professor Joseph] Joe Tussman may also have had something to do with it. He was, as I recall, the one who had the idea of having a special select committee.
- LaBerge: Tell me your first memory of it, the meeting where you were appointed, or how the committee got appointed.
- Muscatine: I don't know whether it was the senate committee. I suppose it was, this must have been the senate committee. I have a vague recollection of having been asked by Bill Fretter--and I don't know what his position was at the time--whether I would consider doing it. And God knows I'd never thought about anything like that from an administrative point of view. And like a fool I said yes. [laughing] And that was the end of that.
- LaBerge: How did you get appointed chairman?
- Muscatine: I don't know. I think the committee was constituted--did not elect its own chairman. I think I was appointed chairman. I don't why, maybe because I could write.
- LaBerge: I'm going to just look in here [the report] so we can say the names of the other committee members.
- Muscatine: They were appointed by the Academic Senate or by somebody.
- LaBerge: Okay. You didn't have anything to do with choosing or--?

Muscatine: Not at all.

LaBerge: It looks like it was trying to be a broad overview of--

Muscatine: Is Peter Dale Scott listed there as in rhetoric or in--?

LaBerge: Yes, in speech. What part did the acting chancellor, [Martin] Meyerson, have to do in this?

Muscatine: Meyerson addressed the senate early on about educational reform, and he was, I think, the official source of the suggestion that a study of education here be made. So he smiled on us, and gave us the funds. But, otherwise, I now see in retrospect that I should have consulted him more closely during the course of that year. I think I consulted him not at all. And he was rather surprised at the form of the report when it came out. He asked me, "Why did you do it that way?" I never found out what way he had in mind. And I probably should have. But that's all I remember about his involvement.

LaBerge: So, did you have a mission that you were given? There's a little introduction that says--

Muscatine: I don't know whether the legislation probably gave us--yes, here it is. There was an Emergency Executive Committee--God knows that's redolent of crisis, isn't it? Emergency Executive Committee made a resolution, and it's here on Roman numeral page three: [reading] "Seek by appropriate means to communicate information concerning these programs for the wider campus community." It's a pretty mild charge, actually, in respect to what we actually tried to do. It doesn't even really call for recommendations, [laughing] now that I look at it.

LaBerge: So you had a--

Muscatine: Carte blanche, pretty much, yes.

### **Members at Work**

LaBerge: Tell me how you got the committee together and how the work was done.

Muscatine: Well, the English department gave us a nice big room on the third floor of Wheeler, on the corner. What was it, 310? Or something like that. And we divided it into a couple of compartments: a little cubicle for the chair, and a little cubicle for the secretary, and a big meeting room. And we met. And as I recorded, I think in the first pages there, we started talking educational philosophy and got absolutely nowhere. We soon discovered that if we talked about things to do [laughs] rather than general philosophy, the agreement or consensus was going to be easier. We could very often agree on some practical matter which then would point backwards to a philosophical position that we couldn't agree on.

We decided very early on, both to strike while the iron was hot, and--to mix metaphors outrageously--to test the waters, to issue a Preliminary Report, which came out in May of '65. It was fairly critical of the campus and of the curriculum, as far as educating students was concerned, and focused mostly on reforming general education. It also suggested that the faculty was overspecialized, and distracted by activities other than teaching. We suggested reform of grading, and student course evaluations. The faculty had the summer to mull over this, and its response was mixed, to say the least; a few liked it, but some members denounced it roundly, especially its view of students. Our final report was less venturesome.

Early in the game we had divided the terrain into different topics, and those different topics are probably roughly the topics that you see in the contents of the report. We had subcommittees of the main committee sort of responsible for expediting research and reporting on the topics. I wish I had a list now of the assignments and all that, but I don't. Some of the members of the committee were conspicuously more active than others [laughter].

LaBerge: Why don't you talk about that?

Muscatine: Well, that's just the way it happened. Some of them that sat there and were decorative. Others really did a lot of work.

LaBerge: Who did a lot of work?

Muscatine: Well, the ones who did the most work were Ted Vermeulen, the chemist, much to my pleasure; and Peter Scott. And, unbeknownst to myself, George Pimentel was doing a lot of work sub rosa. I guess I've mentioned that already, haven't I?

### **Minority Report by George Pimentel**

LaBerge: I don't know if you did, but I was reading his minority report at the end of the full report.

Muscatine: Didn't I tell you about how that came about?

LaBerge: Oh, no, please do.

Muscatine: Oh, well, is now the right time?

LaBerge: Sure.

Muscatine: We, very early on, in trying to push for consensus--and we got pretty far--we had debates, we conceded points, we modified positions. And the idea was that if we ever came to a point where we simply couldn't agree, anyone who was in the minority could write a footnote to the text of the report at that point. And as it happens, there's only one footnote, I think, in the whole report and that's by Peter Scott.

So, during the whole year, we fought tooth and nail with George, who was by far the most conservative member of the group and, I think, undoubtedly, represented an important segment of the faculty, particularly in science. He was obviously talking to people. He was "their" man on the committee. Even though I was into faculty politics, by that time I really didn't realize the extent of it.

Well, we finished the report thinking that we had very considerable consensus. And, literally, on the last day, when the report was about to be submitted to the printer, George turned up with this big sheaf of papers in his hand [laughter]. Of course we were all astounded, but being decent folk we thought he had a right to express himself.

I decided, I think on my own, that we were going to regard this as a footnote because that's all that divergent views were going to get. So, I printed it in the back of the report; but I printed it in the typeface reserved for footnotes, which is smaller. I was criticized for this by some people who said that I didn't give his report the typographical prominence it deserved. But I felt it was perfectly just. And furthermore, I thought that it was not the most gentlemanly thing I'd ever heard of.

LaBerge: To come in at the last minute?

Muscatine: To come in at the last minute, after getting as much concession out of us as he--. If he had not done this, the report would have been, I think, more lively, more liberal, more interesting, more imaginative. George was a very, very important chemist, he was almost Nobel Prize stock--and a wonderful man in many ways, but he was not, in this respect, a gentleman [laughter].

### **Writing the Report**

LaBerge: So, in the beginning you established guidelines like, if someone is in the minority, we'll put in a footnote. Anything else like that that you remember?

Muscatine: We had regular meetings.

LaBerge: Meaning once a week or more often?

Muscatine: Probably, at least, once a week. We farmed out a lot of work to various people. We brought back many, many reports and studies. God knows what. And in this respect Ted Vermeulen and Peter Scott were outstanding in their involvement and thinking about these things. I think Peter wrote most of the report on students by himself. And then, toward the end of the year when we were getting back these materials, we would discuss the materials, read the drafts, and so on; and somebody would be assigned the job of writing this or that section. And I don't even now have a good record of who wrote which section.

I wrote a good deal of the book, I think; certainly the introduction and the one, I think, on graduate education. [laughs] That was a funny one. We had farmed out a study of graduate education on campus to someone who had been an assistant dean of the



graduate school. I won't mention his name. And, unbeknownst to me, I think he had absolutely no use for any of our ideas, and certainly, no idea about reforming graduate education. And after, towards the end of the period, when we wanted a report on graduate education, he turned up straight-faced with a history of graduate education [laughter]. But I mean just a history, totally useless. I can remember my consternation at having to almost start from scratch and put together the report on graduate education by myself.

LaBerge: And what you wanted was statistics--?

Muscatine: Well, I had no idea, for instance, whether in the United States there had been any movement towards reforming graduate education. But he didn't come up with that. He just sort of came up with a history of graduate education at Berkeley; it was totally useless. And, as a matter of fact, I still think that graduate education is the great, unstudied topic in higher education at the moment. There's almost nothing good on it.

LaBerge: Are you doing that now?

Muscatine: Oh, I'm going to do a chapter on it in my little book, yes.

LaBerge: When I was reading through this I kept thinking, how does a committee write a report? But I guess you do it by farming out--everybody gets an assignment. But then, does everybody read everything?

Muscatine: Yes, everybody reads [laughs]--

LaBerge: That must be tough.

Muscatine: Everybody theoretically reads the draft. And then if the chairman is a professor of English he corrects everything.

LaBerge: There must have been a lot of compromises and discussions.

Muscatine: Oh, yes. Naturally. Each one of the recommendations had to be voted on by the committee. I think the recommendations were the core of the committee discussions. And they would be, naturally.

LaBerge: Well, it's so well written and it's so easy to read with those recommendations being in bold.

Muscatine: We purposely, of course, buried them in the course of the book instead of putting them up front because we were sure that if we put them up front, people would read the recommendations and not read the book. So, that was planned.

### **Board of Educational Development**

LaBerge: The three that are the most important, the ones on the Board of Educational Development--do you want to talk about those and just that concept?

Muscatine: It turns out that the Board of Educational Development was widely hailed as the center of the report. And we thought it was the center of the report because it essentially created a place where you could innovate on campus without let or hindrance. But we also discovered--and I think maybe Peter Scott's thinking about this led to our also inventing a Council for Special Curricula because we realized that the Board of Educational Development could innovate up to a certain point and then in the higher reaches of faculty administration and university administration, things could be cut off. So, the Council for Special Curricula actually had powers almost short of the regents that could really create new agencies. As it turned out, the Board of Educational Development was torpedoed in '67 or '68, when I was in Europe. It approved a course by--

LaBerge: Eldridge Cleaver.

Muscatine: --Eldridge Cleaver, which I would never have approved if I had been around and if I had been able to influence it. And as a result, it essentially got its wings totally clipped. I've forgotten now whether it was abolished finally or--. But, I don't think there is a Board of Educational Development, anymore.

However, the Council for Special Curricula remained, and it turned out to be the method by which Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies and Chicano Studies and Native American Studies got approved for, at least, temporary status on campus. And if it had not been in existence, the establishment of all those very important developments would have been very, very much more difficult. So, I'm very pleased that that's one of the few outcomes of the report you can point to.

LaBerge: Whose idea was that?

Muscatine: I think it was Peter Scott's idea. Well, it grew out of the logic of the structure of the university.

LaBerge: In how much of this were you reacting to the Free Speech Movement?

Muscatine: You mean in this whole--?

LaBerge: Yes.

Muscatine: Well, we all realized that we were the result of the Free Speech Movement. Michael Rossman, in his review<sup>1</sup>, comments that it was inevitable that the faculty would have to approve the Board of Educational Development. This was a political move because we were riding the wave of the aftermath of the Free Speech Movement. And in retrospect

---

1. *The Daily Californian*, April 26 and 27, 1966

I think he's probably right. And we set up the vote on the Board of Educational Development, as a confidence vote in the report itself; it was the first faculty vote, and it was largely in favor.

LaBerge: Meaning, they voted on those proposals first before any other part?

Muscatine: Yes. We said to ourselves, "If they're not going to approve this, the hell with it." Well, it so happens that they did approve the Board of Educational Development. It was watered down a little bit by various people, but it passed. In retrospect, I think it's true that the faculty probably had a collective sense of: they better do something that looked good to the public. [laughing] And I think in a way, very, very possibly, it caused us to be somewhat over-optimistic as regards reform of education at Berkeley because when the Free Speech Movement finally ebbed in the seventies, Strawberry Creek College ran into much more opposition on the campus than the vote on this report would have suggested.

### Academic Senate Reaction

LaBerge: What was the reaction in the Academic Senate when you went in with the report?

Muscatine: Well, it was predominantly favorable. We had wonderful press. I mean the *New York Times* commented on it editorially. Berkeley's an important place. We had a lot of sort of national attention. I just found this article by Fred Hechinger--who was the education editor of the *Times*, I think--in the *Saturday Review*. [reading]: "Ten years ago last month, Berkeley, the nation's most prestigious public university, was shaken by a historic student uprising. By early 1965, with emotions spent and the majority of students ready to return to work, Charles Muscatine, a then little-known professor of English, achieved overnight fame by publishing a 200-page laundry list of proposed academic reforms. *Education at Berkeley* was hailed by academic reformers everywhere, with the prediction: as Berkeley goes, so goes the nation." [laughs] So, there was this big to-do about the report which the faculty was aware of right from the start. Now the [*San Francisco*] *Chronicle* came out with a banner headline and reporters descended on the Faculty Club. It was an event [laughing].

LaBerge: Tell me the process. Did you go to the Academic Senate meeting and have these printed up to give to everybody?

Muscatine: Everybody on the campus got one of those--[pointing to book]. And even the design of the book was calculated to create confidence. The outside of the book doesn't say anything about a Select Committee on Education. On the spine, it says, *Academic Senate: Education at Berkeley*. And so on. I mean we tried to present it as if it was the faculty's book. We had a scheduled series of faculty meetings--regular Academic Senate meetings--in which we proposed one or more of the recommendations. And I guess we must have proposed all of them.

LaBerge: Because there are what, forty-two?

- Muscatine: Whatever the --yes [looking through the report]. But, in this second edition, which contains the fate of the report in terms of what happened to each of the recommendations--I now don't even know which part of the report it's in. See if I can find it. Oh, this is the wrong one; that's why.
- LaBerge: That's probably the first edition.
- Muscatine: That's yours.
- LaBerge: Yes.
- Muscatine: In this epilogue, "Final Actions Taken On Recommendations," it covers every single one with the date on which it was disposed of. Many were just received and placed on file. That gives you the whole history.

### **Propositions Not Passed by the Senate**

- LaBerge: Any that are still in existence right now?
- Muscatine: Very few. When I retired, the vice chancellor [Carol Christ] gave a little talk about the people in the English department who were retiring and mentioned the Select Committee report and said, much to the joy of the students, that the report had been the original source for pass/not pass courses. [laughter]
- Let's see, let's go back to Council for Special Curricula. [reading] "Adopted on April 19th, 1966; the Board of Educational Development on March 31st." So, it matched hard upon. I'd have to go through this and check. I mean quite a few things were turned down, like not having grading in the freshman year.
- LaBerge: Oh, now, since that's not in there, why don't you tell me what was turned down?
- Muscatine: Isn't it in there?
- LaBerge: Oh, you mean it's in this epilogue that I've never looked at?
- Muscatine: Well, I think there's a recommendation having to do with not having grading in the freshman year, or that grades in the freshman year shouldn't carry grade point credit.
- ##
- LaBerge: Okay, the recommendation about an alternative doctorate.
- Muscatine: Yes, the doctor of arts was defeated. A lot of interesting things were defeated. However, we did our best.
- LaBerge: Did those of you in the committee go around and give speeches or answer questions about it?

Muscatine: Well, we would at the meeting, but we didn't lobby too much.

LaBerge: All this year that you were doing this, were you also teaching?

Muscatine: Yes, I must have gotten--I better have had course relief; I don't know how much. But I was probably teaching one course, or something like that, per term.

LaBerge: And also the other members of the committee?

Muscatine: I think so. It depended very much on their own departments. Some of them didn't put in that much time, I think. [laughter]

### **Student Reaction**

LaBerge: As you mentioned. What was the reaction from the Academic Senate? You've talked about this a little bit. Why don't you talk about the student reaction--this Michael Rossman who wrote about it and others.

Muscatine: Well, I must say that student reaction was by all odds favorable, and in fact we had contact with a lot of students. Many of their names are listed, I think, in the acknowledgements. But, I don't think the students--. You know the student government at Berkeley was not then, and maybe still is not, of any consequence in terms of academic matters. In fact, it's of no consequence. So there was no official student response, I don't think. Though the *Daily Cal*, undoubtedly, had favorable editorials. And Michael Rossman, of course, is one of the most vociferous of the FSM radicals and his two or three installment-critique is really the principle student reaction that I have. [April 25 and 26, 1966]

LaBerge: And what were his objections?

Muscatine: Well, it's a pretty muddy tirade. It's essentially: the report is by no means radical enough. When I said that we could agree on practical matters but not agree on principles from the outset, he found that to be absolutely horrendous: "Why didn't you sit down and settle the principles first, including, how to cope with the military-industrial-complex?" You know, and some of his criticisms, obviously, are correct, but it's a typical extreme radical reaction to liberal, as he conceived it, sort of liberal softness [laughter]. The fact that, of course, we wouldn't have gotten anywhere using his principles is irrelevant. It's a pretty smart-ass performance [laugh].

LaBerge: Well, I read, maybe in this 1970 interview you did,<sup>2</sup> that you would have preferred it to be more liberal, but you had to achieve consensus or there wouldn't have been a report at all.

---

2. *Journal of Educational Change*, University of California, Berkeley, Volume 1, Number 4, May 1970. See Appendix.

Muscatine: And, of course, as I said, if Pimentel hadn't pulled this prank on us, it would have been more liberal. And maybe, therefore, less acceptable to the faculty, I don't know.

### **Charles Muscatine's Second Hat: Higher Education**

LaBerge: Well, how did it change your life in the sense of what you then later did?

Muscatine: Oh, it was a disaster.

LaBerge: And just the fame you got from this.

Muscatine: It was a disaster as far as my scholarly life was concerned. It took me many years until I turned out another decent scholarly book. I became a member of the U.S. "higher ed club" and spent a lot of time giving talks around the country and that sort of thing, being appointed to boards and this and that. I got a lot of acquaintanceship with the higher ed establishment. I was on the Board of the Association of American Colleges for a while, did a report for them or collaborated on one. And a lot of talk. But then, of course, a lot of reading, a lot of thinking, a lot of writing.

LaBerge: Most of the writing published or--?

Muscatine: Yes, as a matter of fact what I'm doing at the moment is sort of mining my own writings of those periods for a little book I'm doing that I may have mentioned. I'm trying to update them and re-digest them. I was on the road a lot. We keep records, bio-bibliographical records. And my records for those years are twenty speeches or twenty-five speeches a year, all over the country. That's what I was doing. I sort of got a second hat, as it were. And oddly enough, a lot of people in one camp don't even know about my work in the other camp. Sometimes they're astonished. "You do Chaucer, too?" [laughter]

LaBerge: "On the side?" [laughter]

Muscatine: And I'm sure my Chaucer colleagues feel that it was a real waste of time to be interested in educational stuff.

### **The Jade Tree Retreat and Other Influences**

[Interview 4: September 14, 2000] ##

LaBerge: Last time we were talking about the Select Committee report and you have a few things you wanted to add.

Muscatine: Yes, you were asking about notable meetings the last time. I completely forgot [to tell you] that we were struggling along after our first meeting on April 19, 1965, not really

able to communicate with each other, not really able to do anything. I realize now, in retrospect, that we didn't know each other and certainly didn't trust each other. Anyhow, we struck on the idea of having a retreat, and on May 15 and 16 in '65 we went down to Carmel for the weekend. We stayed at the Jade Tree Motel with a case of whiskey, [laughter] had good dinners out both nights, and had a hell of a good time. And after that we frequently referred to the "Jade Tree spirit."

It worked so well that we had a couple of other retreats, the most notable of which were in the Alumni Center at Tahoe from which we made forays into the gambling areas of Tahoe and conducted our own little poker games at night with whiskey that was left over.

These meetings were absolutely essential to whatever success the committee had. We also, I remember, had periodic visits from interesting people in the world of education. I particularly remember a visit by Harold Taylor, president of the Sarah Lawrence College, who was then one of the great spokesmen for educational reform. So I should have mentioned that.

LaBerge: Would you have invited him?

Muscatine: Yes, oh, yes.

LaBerge: Or did he happen to be on campus?

Muscatine: Well, yes, and I would have invited some people on campus like Professor Paul Heist who was a very good thinker on higher ed[ucation], and people who either were passing through or whom I could lure to come by. So during the year we had quite a number of these visits.

I also want to mention two other things. One was that looking at my datebook, I realize that at the time I was driving a white Sunbeam Alpine two-seater, usually with the top down, and this must have created quite an impression on various people. [laughs]

And that finally at the end of our, or near the end of our year, I notice an entry, "April 8, golf with Henry Nash Smith." This was after the March opening of the report and so I realize that I had emerged relatively unscathed from the year. I also notice that the committee actually kept meeting for another year at least to shepherd the report through the senate.

LaBerge: So another year when you would have all been teaching again?

Muscatine: Yes, probably we didn't meet--we certainly didn't meet as frequently as we met the first year.

LaBerge: Well, those are really good additions. Since that time, I went back and read that Michael Rossman article in the *Daily Cal*. Was he a student leader during FSM?

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: And did you have him in class?

Muscatine: No, no. Never met him.

LaBerge: Even still, you've never met him?

Muscatine: I've met him socially in recent years. I think I met him during the memorial for Mario Savio. As far as--I don't know--Michael hasn't done much in the last twenty years. But he doesn't have the right kind of mind somehow for [consecutive] achievement. I don't know.

### **Educational Reform Ideas Germinating**

LaBerge: Well, maybe we can make the connection between that report and Strawberry Creek College. Did that start you thinking that you wanted to do one of the innovations yourself? Or how did it get started?

Muscatine: Well, certainly the Select Committee got me into the education world. I began being invited to innumerable conferences, invited to give talks here and there, and also to some very important educational retreats, shall we say. One was at Tufts College around--very early--around 1966. Another was at Dartmouth, I think in the seventies, where I heard people from all over the world talking about educational reform. And I began to generate just in myself ideas of what might be done.

I was also thinking. I was a very enthusiastic teacher of composition in the English department, and already in 1966 I had turned out a little paper on a new way to teach composition, which I entitled "The Seminar." And although my thoughts then were mainly concerned with the teaching of writing, a lot of the components of the [consequent] seminar apparently were already half-formed at least in my mind by then.

LaBerge: Had you been taught in this way at Yale?

Muscatine: Not at all. But I had attended a dozen classes at Bennington, visiting my wife while she was finishing up her degree back in 1945-46, and they had made a tremendous impression on me. I think always, in all my thinking about education, Bennington College has been a very strong influence. And I think Bennington is still sort of the ideal pedagogical place to be.

### **Joe Tussman's Experimental Program**

LaBerge: The same time you were doing this, was Joseph Tussman's college [Experimental Program] already in existence?



Muscatine: I don't know what the dates are, but it seems to me that it must have been because he published his book in '69,<sup>3</sup> which means that it probably went to '68 or there about.

LaBerge: And it was four years, I think.

Muscatine: So yes, it probably was already in existence which means that he was really a person really before his time in terms of educational reform. Now there's a very great difference between Joe's and my plan. Joe harks back to Alexander Meiklejohn and to some extent to a philosophy that really is kind of a Great Books philosophy. The idea being there are great books and great ideas and there's maybe a limited number of them and if you immerse the students in those books and those ideas, they'll be educated, which I think is a wonderful idea. And I think there are--St. John's operates on that principle, for instance. And the faculty is full time in the college. And, so it really is a separate, totally separate, full-time occupation for both faculty and students, with many of the faculty teaching outside their fields of expertise.

Our idea was much more adapted to the realities of the Berkeley campus and the Berkeley student and thought of itself as actually being a perfectly ideal concomitant to a research university. That is, the notion that the virtues that lead to really first-rate research--among which the central is critical thinking--are also the virtues that lead to great undergraduate education. And that what better way to do undergraduate education at Berkeley than to start right out freshman year with a very ambitious sense of what the students could do if turned into little researchers in the larger sense, that is, in terms of their mental development, not necessarily in terms of the projects they did. And faculty would be involved with the students part time. Although, as it happened, we involved the students deeply in our program when they signed up. Ten units out of fifteen in the quarter system is 2/3 time. So, it wasn't that far from total immersion. And then I think Joe ran into real difficulties with his student associates or assistants.

LaBerge: The teaching assistants?

Muscatine: Yes, I haven't read his book in so long I've now forgotten that it's--

LaBerge: He mentioned that that was a problem.

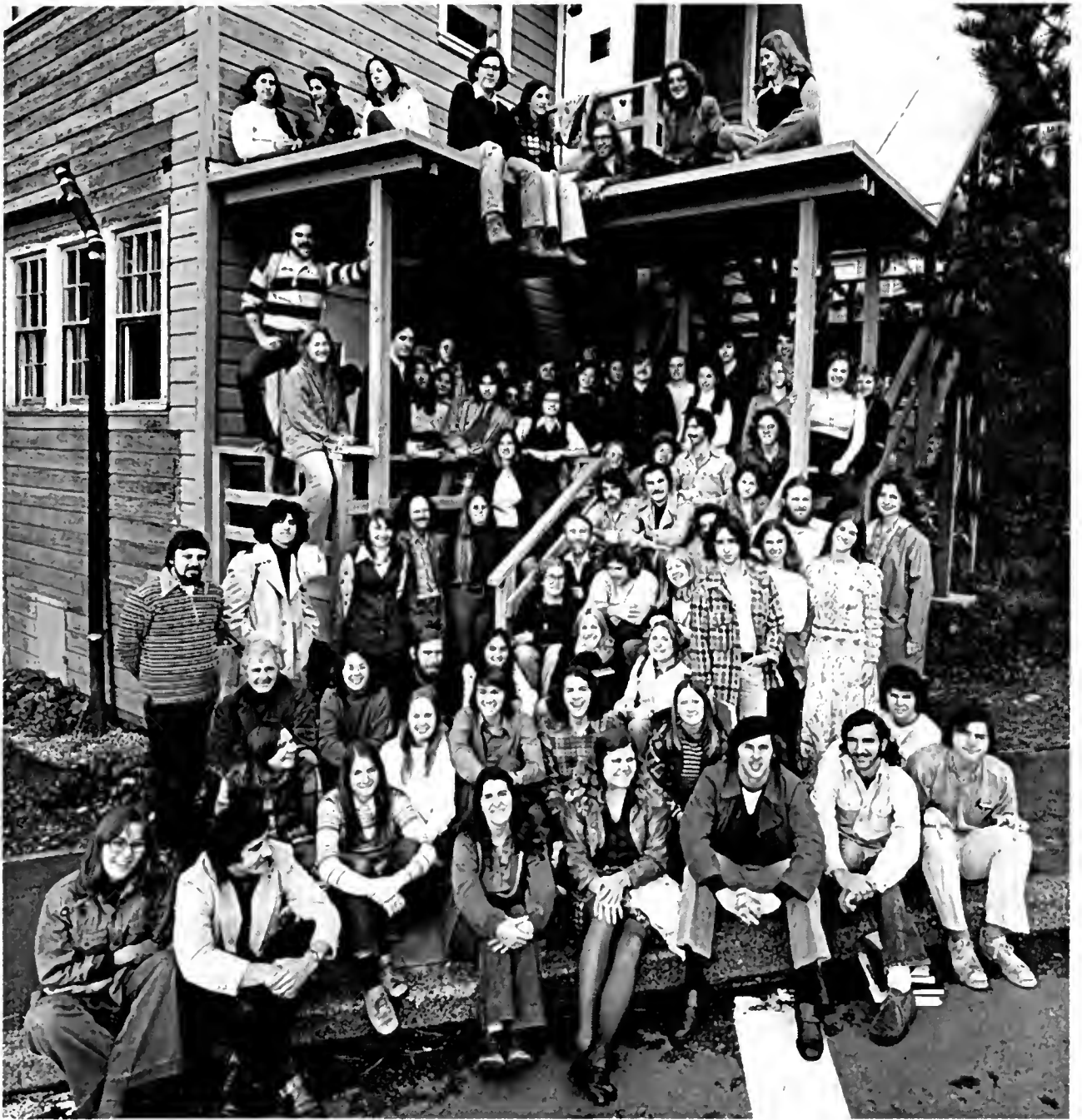
Muscatine: He was sort of permanently disaffected by the way his own teaching assistants behaved.

LaBerge: And by the second go-around, I guess, there were no teaching assistants; they had an extra faculty member instead.

---

3. *Experiment at Berkeley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969)





Strawberry Creek College, November 1974. Charlie Sellers (on roof, hands folded); Peter Dale Scott (seated on stairs, with beard); Charles Muscatine (white hair, seated at left).

Photo by Dennis Galloway



## V STRAWBERRY CREEK COLLEGE, 1974-1980

### Setting Up

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: Did you have teaching assistants in Strawberry Creek College?

Muscatine: We called them associates and they were absolutely integral and essential to our program, but they were all senior associates who were already admitted to dissertation status, candidates for the degree.

LaBerge: Who else was involved with the Strawberry Creek College? Should we launch into that?

Muscatine: Yes, if you want, sure. The same Peter Dale Scott, who became a dear, dear friend of mine and whom I helped get transferred to the English department where he belonged, since he was by far the most learned person on the campus [laughter]. Charles Sellers, professor of history.

LaBerge: The one that you met at the jail?

Muscatine: Yes. The same. We were the three founders of Strawberry Creek College.

LaBerge: Have you written about this?

Muscatine: No, I haven't. I'm going to write about it, now.

LaBerge: Well, why don't talk about it? How did you set it up? I know how Joe Tussman set his up with--they focused on a specific historical period.

Muscatine: This was--. Maybe I've got something here. It would just make it a lot simpler. Would you excuse me if I run downstairs?

[Tape interruption as Muscatine goes downstairs for something]

LaBerge: Going back to the committee that you were on: in the long run, what impact do you think that report had?

Muscatine: Well, I think, in the long run it had a lot less impact than I had hoped. As I said, the Board of Educational Development was soon done away with. And one of the grave defects of the report itself--not defects but omissions--was that there was concurrently in existence a committee on the undergraduate program.

LaBerge: Like a permanent committee?

Muscatine: Well, no, I guess an ad hoc committee. About every twenty years the College of Letters and Science or the campus decides it needs to look at undergraduate education. It appoints a committee; the committee studies education. It reports, and then the report is solicitously discussed in the Academic Senate and then forgotten. And in this case, Richard Herr, professor of history, whom I should have mentioned as another good worker, by the way, a very good worker--I should have mentioned it. Richard Herr was in charge of a committee to do undergraduate education, so that actually, if you examine this report, it has a big gap in it in terms of very specific things about the undergraduate curriculum, which I would have dearly loved to have taken up. But it was preempted, in a sense. Well as it happens, the Herr Committee, thereafter, came out with its report and it was torpedoed, essentially. It had absolutely no effect. By that time this report was out. So there was, in some sense, a void in our thinking about undergraduate education, apart from Joe Tussman's.

### Curriculum

Muscatine: I think Strawberry Creek was sort of a way of saying, "Well, this is the way maybe we should do it." Now, I must say from the outset that--now, I've gotten into Strawberry Creek--

LaBerge: That's fine.

Muscatine: --that Strawberry Creek started out with the idea of being a program, that is, a sequential program based on small seminars on interdisciplinary, problem-oriented topics with small classes, a lot of unit credit--I mentioned ten units out of fifteen--and a lot of emphasis on reading, writing, research, speaking, thinking. In other words, really basic intellectual skills. And taught, very often interdisciplinarily, by two teachers; at least one of whom might be a professor and the other might be a graduate assistant.

LaBerge: From different disciplines?

Muscatine: Yes, oh, of course. The idea would be to engage the students on the level of their really lively interests; then do a lot with student dynamics, interaction, and so on. We can get into that later. But we found out after a couple of years that actually all these seminars, while they were greatly diverse in subject matter, were intellectually teaching the same thing. And they were teaching things that, once the students got the hang of it, you sort of could depend on them to carry on by themselves.

So, instead of becoming a program, it became a locus or a focus on campus where a very special kind of intellectual training occurred. We did ultimately get permission to offer a bachelor's degree program in which these freshman seminars or these lower division seminars were linked up with a couple of upper division seminars and, essentially, a senior thesis surrounded by regular, departmental courses. Hence then a number of students graduated and got B.A.'s through the Council on Special Curricula. Two of the first three went to law school. One of them got into Yale Law School. So, we did very well.

LaBerge: And what were their B.A.'s in?

Muscatine: They were in--. What did we call it? I've forgotten what--. We did have a great discussion on what was on their diplomas, but I've forgotten--.

LaBerge: Interdisciplinary or something like that?

Muscatine: Probably something like that. Gosh, I've forgotten already. But essentially, the program was these really wonderful seminars, mainly for lower division students who could take maybe two in succession--very rarely, three--and really get loaded for bears as far as the rest of their college career is concerned. So, that's essentially what it turned out to be.

LaBerge: Give me an example of a seminar topic.

Muscatine: Oh, I think I've got a whole bunch of them here. [shuffling of papers] In fact, if you'd be interested in just reading about--

LaBerge: Oh, I would and I can give it back to you. I can copy them and--

Muscatine: That's a very good summary, a very good summary. Okay, shall I read you some of these?

LaBerge: Yes.

Muscatine: [reading] "Literature, Sex Roles and Change: Study of major works of literature from Virgil to the present with special emphasis on the interaction of male and female roles." This is spring in the seventies. It's still on the full cutting edge of the --

LaBerge: And were you one of the professors for that?

Muscatine: Not in this one, no, though I collaborated on a similar one. This was taught by women on our faculty who were very active feminists. [reading] "Responses to Rage in Language and Literature: An example from the perspective of linguistics and psychology of how anger and frustration are expressed in various genres of writing." [laughs] "Environment, Heredity and Society"; "Women and Poverty"; "Environmental Ethics"; "Colonial and Anti-Colonial Violence." Many of the real major themes of the eighties and nineties are already evident here.

And then we did some fairly conventional things like Charles Sellers offered a course in classics of social science. I offered a course in "The Year 1200" in which I tried to show an integration of all the various aspects of the culture. [reading] "The Politics of

Language: Uses of language in either maintaining or transforming the status quo";  
 "Bureaucratic Jargon: Insistence on correct language and separate languages." I mean this is very interesting stuff. Anyhow, here are all the--

LaBerge: It would be great to copy that and have that as an appendix to the oral history. I'll bring this back?

Muscatine: Sure, sure.

LaBerge: How did you come up with topics?

Muscatine: Well, the faculty came up with them.

LaBerge: So, you three plus others or--?

### **Choosing Faculty and Associates**

Muscatine: Well, the three of us then proceeded to recruit colleagues and graduate assistants--graduate students who were senior. We put out an employment call, and we interviewed not only the graduate assistants but also the regular faculty who were interested. Some of whom were wonderful, amiable, lovely people but whom we didn't bring in because we felt that either their teaching style or their writing was not what we wanted. Because one of the basic tenets of the entire program was that everybody can write, and everybody teaches writing. And that turned out to be very successful.

LaBerge: When I was reading Professor Tussman's<sup>1</sup>--he wrote about it twenty years later, about the experiment. One of the problems was the faculty, that he chose faculty who were eminent, and reputed to be good teachers, but as it turned out, they couldn't collaborate very well. It sounds like you went through a better process of picking out the faculty.

Muscatine: Even though we were all sort of self-selected and had been hand-picked, collaborative teaching is a major trauma and boy, do you have to learn it. We spent a lot of anxious soul-searching hours discussing the problems and reading up on collaboration. There are stages in collaboration. You start with, "Oh, what a wonderful person." And then the next stage, "Gee, he doesn't know that much." [laughing] And then finally, the last stage, "Well, he's a pretty damn good person, after all." So, you have to go through that, you have to survive that second stage. And also, of course, the fear of being found out, which is endemic to the academic profession. Everybody at Harvard thinks that he is considered a fraud, or would be considered a fraud if he were really found out. So, and as it happens, we ameliorated the situation somewhat by pairing a faculty member with a graduate student from another department so there wasn't that much professional tension. I think if people had been paired more often professor-professor or same department-same department, there would have been more trouble. But gosh, we had

---

1. Joseph Tussman, *The Beleaguered College: Essays on Educational Reform* (University of California, Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1990)



just a marvelous bunch of associates, just a marvelous bunch, couple of them are full professors at Berkeley now.

LaBerge: Do you want to mention any of those names?

Muscatine: Waldo Martin is professor of history. And Veve Clark, I think she's in African-American Studies now. Some are professors in other colleges around. And some remarkably brilliant people have just disappeared. I wish I knew where they were.

### **Venue in T-9**

LaBerge: Where did this all happen?

Muscatine: Oh, I've got to go down because I have a picture that I want to show you.

[Tape interruption. Muscatine goes downstairs]

Muscatine: Long, two-story, ugly, wooden structures were erected on the green across from the library. There were about ten or twelve of them. They were T-buildings, the temporary buildings. Well, in 1974 they were still there and we got one. And this is the first class at Strawberry Creek College [showing photo]. Isn't that great?

LaBerge: That would be great when we finally put this in a volume, to have this picture.

Muscatine: I think it's just a wonderful picture.

LaBerge: Oh, it's wonderful. Now, are the professors here, too?

Muscatine: Oh, yes. Let's see. That's me. [laughing] You know, in those days we were sort of post-Free-Speech-Movement-dressed. Let me find the rest. Here's Charlie Sellers up here. And, where's Peter [Dale Scott]? He's here somewhere. [pause while apparently searching the photo] Oh, here he is, right there [laughing] with the beard. Anyhow, that's the building. We had the whole building, or most of it. Classrooms upstairs and a meeting room downstairs. I think it was T-9, as I recall.

LaBerge: At the bottom of this it says, "To pre-enroll for seminars, come to building T-9, Room 108." So you had your offices there and everything else in T-9?

Muscatine: Yes. It was really like a clubhouse.

LaBerge: So, this went on for six years?

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: And were you sort of the chairman? Or how did that work?

Muscatine: I was officially the director.

### Choosing Students

- LaBerge: The director, okay. And how would you choose the students?
- Muscatine: Oh, they would apply.
- LaBerge: And how would you choose them?
- Muscatine: Until the very last year or two, when we had too many applicants, we just took them all.
- LaBerge: Did they apply to Berkeley first and then to Strawberry Creek?
- Muscatine: Oh, yes, they were Berkeley students. They were entering freshmen, usually.
- LaBerge: So they had already gained admission to Berkeley and then applied to Strawberry Creek College?
- Muscatine: Oh, yes. Now the fact that they were already Berkeley students, of course, raises the whole question of whether the method is applicable for students who wouldn't have gotten into Berkeley; something I'm going to have to cope with in my discussion of it.
- LaBerge: So, is it mainly humanities and social sciences--or was science included?
- Muscatine: Oh, no. There was science included. There was one biochemist, a zoologist, an applied mathematician.
- LaBerge: Do you want to tell me some of the names?
- Muscatine: [Looking through some documents] Excuse me, I've got the faculty list here somewhere. Or I thought I had the faculty list. Let me supply those names because I've got them all.
- LaBerge: Was Howard Bern one of them? Was he the zoologist?
- Muscatine: No. I was looking now at the departmental affiliations of the teaching associates and I was not looking at the--. Here we are.
- LaBerge: Any of this that we want to copy and put in the Appendix, I think would be great. Because I don't think these exist anywhere, do you?
- Muscatine: They're very hard to find. I know I've been trying--. I'm still missing one whole semi-report that I know exists, and I've been looking for it all over campus and can't find it. It was part of the report that we submitted to the vice chancellor when we were trying to be evaluated finally for retention or not.
- LaBerge: So, you've really had a long list of people?
- Muscatine: Well, it's a modest list of full professors. They're all full professors.

LaBerge: So, one difference then between Strawberry Creek and the experimental program of Tussman's was that you didn't have full-time faculty; you had full professors who were part time at Strawberry Creek.

### **Funding ##**

LaBerge: Okay, we were talking about the funding.

Muscatine: Virginia Smith, who is a great woman, was head of the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, supported us at the outset. That's a federal program which I believe is still going. Very important.

LaBerge: But, so, when you hired people those were the funds that you paid--.

Muscatine: Well, I don't remember the exact figures--whether some departments donated their faculty members and whether other departments didn't. But whatever funds we needed, came from that source.

LaBerge: But you were full time?

Muscatine: No, I was still something in the English department. I had a considerable course relief from English, but I was still, you know--

LaBerge: So, did they donate you?

Muscatine: I don't remember, actually. I was never privy to who was paying whom. I only know that the Select Committee was donated, I think, by the departments in terms of faculty time. Plus I think we spent about \$35,000 on that report, which, at that time, seemed a large amount to me. But that couldn't have covered faculty hours. [laughing]

### **Exhaustion and Hostility on Campus**

LaBerge: What is your assessment of Strawberry Creek now and why did it end?

Muscatine: Oh, why it ended is a very deep subject. I think it was a success. Maybe when we meet next we can go into the details.

LaBerge: Okay, so why don't we leave that until next time.

Muscatine: Because that's a very complex question with a lot of *ands* and *buts*. The only thing I really regret about it was that I didn't write about it immediately afterward. And the reason I didn't was that I was simply exhausted, just all passion spent. And I didn't do what Joe Tussman did, which I should have. But I'm told that it got a lot of publicity during its lifetime; we sent out a lot of descriptions of it; it was written up in other

people's accounts of things; and that it had some effect on what people were willing to do in their places. And I was involved after it closed in a couple of different--as an adviser in other places where people were trying this or that educational experiment.

LaBerge: For instance?

Muscatine: Oh, God, the Residential College at the University of Michigan, Hampshire College, Evergreen State College in Washington, and so on. [laughing]

LaBerge: And it's part of what you're writing about now?

Muscatine: Little bit, yes.

LaBerge: It sounded that Tussman also was exhausted by it really--

Muscatine: Oh, yes. It took a tremendous amount of energy partly because the context was rather hostile. That's something we hadn't really counted on when we first sat down to talk about doing a college.

LaBerge: Hostile among the other faculty?

Muscatine: Faculty, yes.

LaBerge: Because?

Muscatine: Well, we're getting into why it failed, but that's alright.

LaBerge: Should we save that?

Muscatine: Yes, maybe, let's save it. But, maybe, you'll remember for me that faculty hostility certainly was involved.

LaBerge: Do you have more comments on the Select Committee and the repercussions of that report?

Muscatine: Well, I think at this distance, anything that happened in the mid-sixties is sort of flat. [laughing] And [I was] looking at the Berkeley campus and thinking of both this report and of the Collegiate Seminar Program. The Berkeley campus [now in 2000] is struggling to maintain a list of freshman seminars of one unit credit, taught by regular faculty, that have absolutely no other requirements. In short, no real educational edge. And the administration works mightily in trying to persuade faculty members to offer this one-unit course in the kind of general notion that it's good for freshmen to be exposed to full professors. So, that represents such a pathetic watering down of what we were trying to do that one wonders.

LaBerge: What do you think about the Great Books program, that idea, because you did something else?

Muscatine: Well, as it happens, the Great Books programs would today be confronted by a very, very powerful, political, intellectual-political movement having to do with the question:

For whom and to whom were those books written? In other words, the question of the canon. And it would have a hell of a lot more difficulty with young faculty now than it would have had then. I personally am in favor of it because we found raising these contemporary questions in the courses you've mentioned--that I've given you--if you look down through some of these reading lists, you find Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau. You find a lot of the Great Books [laughs] supporting these problem-oriented seminars in contemporary problems. So, I think the Great Books are, by and large, still apposite. Marx, Weber, Freud, I mean, God, you know.

Not all of these have the reading lists, but I have some [course lists] with the reading lists; and you'd be astonished at the books. I just think that Joe's approach was, in terms of education, highly conservative. I don't know to what extent it focused on learning rather than on subject matter, but we would focus, of course, on learning.

LaBerge: And teaching those critical skills?

Muscatine: Yes, yes.

LaBerge: Was Strawberry Creek College an outgrowth of your being on that committee, do you think?

Muscatine: Oh, absolutely. If you think strenuously for a year or so and then you're called upon to talk all over the place and meet other people and read stuff, I mean it just, obviously, came out of that. I would never have dreamt it otherwise I'm sure. There was almost a seamless connection between the two.

The report had a lot of repercussions around the country, I think. I can remember Ernie Boyer, who became chancellor of the New York state system and then head of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education or Carnegie Foundation, refer to it as Ur of the Chaldees [laughing] as if it somehow was the original report. It was old hat, of course, by the eighties when he said this.

LaBerge: Who did you meet and where did you go when you were giving your talks?

Muscatine: Among other things I went to the associations: Dupont Circle, I became a denizen practically of Dupont Circle. And attended the conventions: the American Association of Colleges, the American Association of Universities, or whatever the devil it is, and God knows what. And then, of course, when you gave talks at these association meetings then deans and presidents, or whoever were in the audience, say, "Well, would you come and talk to my faculty?" So, I've talked all the way from Hawaii to the University of Arkansas, I remember--Little Rock, UALR, the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. And many liberal arts colleges around the country--Hampshire College; all over the place. Then I became a consultant for the National Endowment for the Humanities. And they had consultant grants and a college could get a free consultant. And I did quite a few stints with them.

LaBerge: And did you get any grants from NEH yourself for Strawberry Creek?

Muscatine: I think that we may have applied to NEH, but I don't think we got any grants from NEH. I'd have to look it up. I'm not good at finances. [laughing]

- LaBerge: You can't be good at everything. [laughing]
- Muscatine: I get the money and then forget about it.
- LaBerge: Do you have any anecdotes about the meetings you had on this committee or--?
- Muscatine: Gee, I really have a terrible memory. Terrible.
- LaBerge: You know what, when you see the transcript, too, something might pop up; you might think, "Ohhhhh," that was--. I mean even the way you talked about George Pimentel throwing that report in at the last minute.
- Muscatine: Oh! [laughter] We were astounded.
- LaBerge: I mean those were the kinds of things that oral histories--that people don't know that aren't written down.
- Muscatine: Well, it's something I wouldn't have broadcast until now in any case. George is dead. No, I don't think there were any dramatic or humorous--I'm sure there were many.
- Okay, then, maybe next time we can do Strawberry Creek.
- LaBerge: Okay, and I'll read through some of this so that I'll know a little bit more.

### **Teaching Composition**

- LaBerge: Well, do you want to describe your ideas of teaching composition and how you did it at Strawberry Creek?
- Muscatine: I started out being worried about teaching writing and teaching it by involving the student to a much greater extent in the creation of his or her own writing. The idea [was] that students learn better when they're involved with the subject matter and that they learn better when they are involved in the class work in some kind of collaborative collegial experience and so on. I thought of the seminar as kind of a marvelously generative, small group in which everybody else listens to your paper and offers criticisms and so on. That kind of collaborative effort with a kind of interdisciplinary focus in terms of the subject matter, so that the students could write about things that they were natively interested in rather than perhaps pure academic subjects, I think turned itself around in my mind so that the method became paramount and the composition became secondary--although still important--so that my contribution to the thinking about Strawberry Creek Seminars came about that way.

And I'm sure that Peter Scott's contribution and Charles Sellers' contributions were just as important, but we coincided very beautifully on most of the salient features of the program which were, in fact, you know in the air already and dated way back possibly through Bennington College to John Dewey, and which were now just being verified by educational researchers as being valid. So a lot of it was in the air.

Although it was a period of retrenchment in higher education away from the interest in revolution, shall we say, that characterized the sixties. Generally speaking in the university community and certainly at Berkeley, students and faculty were going back to the old ways so that although there were many good ideas in the air, the actual groundswell of feeling was the other way.

LaBerge: Among students and faculty.

Muscatine: Among students and faculty. This was the setting. And I guess this was one of the difficulties of even attempting something like Strawberry Creek College at that time.

### **Conservatism in the Seventies**

LaBerge: Well, I know that you mentioned that in your rebuttal letter to the Trow Report that you hadn't realized how--not apathetic, but that the students were more conservative.

Muscatine: Conservative. And sort of fearful. The college requirements as set out in the big catalogue were terribly intimidating. Not that there were that many requirements; the College of Letters and Science had just diluted its requirements notably, which is one of the things that bothered us. Nothing had been brought forward as a substitute.

And the faculty by this time was completely engaged with the image of Berkeley. Berkeley had become by this time, and in fact before this time, what it now is--it is one of the preeminent places in the world. And the faculty was, as it still is, obsessed with the idea of standards and reputation at Berkeley, et cetera. Nothing that was different promised to raise their ideas of their own standards, but just the reverse.

Paradoxically, we thought that we were in fact raising the standards. We had absolutely no contempt for the research reputation at Berkeley; we love it. We thought that a great graduate school and a great research university should have a great lower division and a great undergraduate education. Furthermore, a great research university should have a lower division that produced great researchers, and very few members of the faculty saw the connection between what we were trying to do and what they were trying to do.

So when we suggested, for instance, that these seminars carry ten units or two-thirds of the students' time, they immediately were afraid that this would dilute the value of the units, and therefore the value of a Berkeley degree, and therefore the value of Berkeley's name. This is one of the major stumbling blocks to the success of the college.

### **Approval for the Ten-Unit Seminar**

LaBerge: Who did you have to go through to start with to get the ten units approved?

Muscatine: Well, we had to go through hell. [laughter] But another connection between the Select Committee and Strawberry Creek is that some of the mechanisms that we had established in the Select Committee were the only mechanisms that could possibly have made Strawberry Creek a possibility--for instance, the Board of Educational Development. But from the outset we were blocked at every turn by the myriad senate and college committees on Educational Policy, the Committee on Courses, et cetera, because of the unconventional nature of what we were proposing.

Sometimes we got around it by appealing to the boards that were entitled to do experiments, like the Council for Special Curricula. At other times we went toe to toe with them in the senate and there were some votes that were even in the senate--actually identical number of votes, which we were allowed to look upon as a victory. So we had to fight every inch of the way for ten-unit courses, for the ability of our senior graduate students to teach ten-unit courses.

It was at first argued that graduate students were not fit to teach courses at Berkeley for units. Now look at what's happened today, of course! [laughs]

LaBerge: Right.

Muscatine: But at the very same time they were giving transfer credit massively to students who had studied in community colleges whose teachers had usually nowhere near the academic background of our senior graduate students. So a lot of it was somewhat illogical, but nevertheless reflective of the passionate regard of Berkeley faculty for its own reputation.

### **Berkeley's Reputation**

LaBerge: Where do you think that came from, and where does it come from now?

Muscatine: I beg your pardon? [laughs]

LaBerge: Why do they feel that way, or maybe you don't know?

Muscatine: Why do they feel that Berkeley is the greatest?

LaBerge: Why are they so obsessed with that?

Muscatine: Well, it's simply a reflection of their own worth. Prestige has become the disease of American higher educational institutions. There are third- and fourth-rate colleges all over the country--I have reports, for instance, from one of the Virginia State universities, right now--that are aspiring to become, you know, second-rate or first-rate research institutions, quote, "like Berkeley," unquote, within ten years or twenty years. Everybody wants to be Berkeley, which is a terrible mistake, you know.



LaBerge: I guess as I'm asking you why the faculty in general feels that way, another question would be why you don't--why you can step back and see that that's a mistake? Where does that come from?

Muscatine: Well, I am excessively proud of the reputation of Berkeley, too, but I don't think it should come in the way of making it better, to put it bluntly. I've always said without any shame that we have a first-rate graduate school attached to a third-rate undergraduate school, and I think it's still true. Now the average Berkeley professor and the average state university administrator lays the flattering unction to his soul, as Shakespeare would say, that our students really don't need to be hand-fed, that we attract the kind of a student who is self-reliant, who can handle himself; and if you can handle yourself, you can get as good an education at Berkeley as any place in the world. Which I think is nonsense. Or to put it another way, if they can get as good an education at Berkeley by themselves, what could they do with a little help? [laughs]

LaBerge: Right.

Muscatine: It staggers the imagination.

### **Formation Meetings for the Seminar Program**

LaBerge: Well, what do you remember about the formation meetings for Strawberry Creek College? Did you go on retreats for that?

Muscatine: Well, actually Charlie and I, and Peter, must have talked. I really don't have any records of this, but we must have talked for a couple of years about this and written up various proposals. I remember once gathering in this very house a dozen or fourteen of the best people on the campus that I could think of that I knew and liked, and one afternoon over drinks and just sort of floated the idea by them. Unfortunately, I didn't hear in their very lukewarm response the portent of the troubles we were going to have ahead, because these were highly enlightened, admirable people.

LaBerge: Do you remember who they are, or do you want to mention?

Muscatine: Well, Bill Fretter was one of them. And I could mention--some of them are living and I perhaps shouldn't, but they were notably underwhelmed with the idea. [laughs] Nevertheless we went ahead.

I guess we must have somehow recruited some students before the actual beginning of the semester in which the college started because we had elaborate discussions with a considerable number of students about how the college should be before it started. Then we made applications to various agencies on campus and we had to fight tooth and nail and finally got approval for a small program. We also got funding from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education [FIPSE] in Washington.

LaBerge: And anything from the National Endowment for the Humanities?

Muscatine: Well, as I recall, we applied later on in the life of the college to National Endowment for the Humanities, but I believe that we were not in time to get a grant before we were disbanded.

### **Writing Skills of Faculty and Associates**

LaBerge: Well, the beginning year. Tell me about the beginning. What other professors did you get on board? There was a list of the professors in '78 at one point.

Muscatine: Well, let me--yes, okay. Was there a list in '78?

LaBerge: It was at the end of your little--here we go. [looking at papers] This was your rebuttal.

Muscatine: I wish that I had something before 1976. Yes. My problem is I can't remember which came first. I just can't remember. I probably have this somewhere [on campus].

LaBerge: And all of this is, if it's at the top of your head, and if it isn't, fine.

Muscatine: Okay, but one of the things we did was in terms of the faculty: we had decided that everybody in the program who taught had to be a good writer. And when we recruited the teaching assistants--or the associates as we called them--

LaBerge: And why did you call them associates instead of teaching assistants?

Muscatine: Well, because it sounds more collegial.

LaBerge: All right.

Muscatine: And they weren't assistants. They were regarded as colleagues. We required a substantial sample of their writing and we didn't hire anybody who could not write a sentence. Well, the same thing was true when we recruited regular faculty. I was horrified to discover that a substantial number of persons who might have been asked to join the college, when we read their article, [laughs] we realized that we don't want him or her teaching our kids how to write. So this was from the outset one of the grave difficulties of recruiting regular faculty. Of course the other difficulties would be obvious. This is usually an add-on. It doesn't add to your research prestige at all. We ran into quite visible hostility by regular members of the faculty. And I've got to tell you this for the record: when the program was first publicized, there was a lot of amusement in the Faculty Club and I'm told that--remember that my colleagues were Peter Scott and Charlie Sellers--the college was characterized as "Scott's Bluff," and "Sellers' Market."

And a very staid professor of philosophy, Carl Aschenbrenner, actually visited me in my office with the express purpose of explaining to me the history of Strawberry Creek. He said with a straight face that the branch of Strawberry Creek that our college was situated on originally had not been called Strawberry Creek but Razzberry Creek. Are you old enough to know what a razzberry is? [laughter]

LaBerge: Yes.

Muscatine: Okay. And he said this absolutely without even smiling, which I thought was a signal instance of discourtesy--but which I did not respond to, you can be sure. When the parents arrived for the first fall that we were in operation, at their meeting an associate dean of the College of Letters and Science used the word "fraud" in response to a question concerning Strawberry Creek College.

LaBerge: Who was that?

Muscatine: I'd better not say.

LaBerge: Okay. And this was even before you'd started.

Muscatine: This was even before we'd started. Well, in that atmosphere, it was not easy to recruit faculty and it was not easy to recruit students. One of the disappointments we had at the outset was that we didn't quite recruit as many students as we'd expected. But the students we did recruit were fabulous, were wonderful kids. We adored them.

### **Recruitment of Students and Faculty**

LaBerge: How did you go about trying to recruit?

Muscatine: Students or faculty?

LaBerge: Students.

Muscatine: Oh, we just put out notices, you know, wherever you put out notices.

LaBerge: In the *Daily Cal*?

Muscatine: Oh, of course. We had a lot of publicity, I think. Enough publicity. We put out notices in all the living quarters and so on. The first group of students hadn't heard of us long before they arrived.

And we used to say they came for two different reasons. One was they were students from the Central Valley who needed tender loving care and were a little intimidated by the campus and needed a small place to roost. The others were students from Beverly Hills High School who had been in special programs since before kindergarten and were damned if they weren't going to continue in special programs. [laughter] That was the joke, anyhow.

LaBerge: But was it true or not?

Muscatine: Well, to an extent. To an extent, yes. But they were self-selected, obviously. Brilliantly self-selected.

Another grave difficulty we faced and something that was inherent in the nature of what we were doing [is that] we trailed clouds of the sixties--particularly evident in the fact that all three of us had been on the liberal side in the controversies of the sixties. Our teaching associates even more conspicuously were more likely to be liberal to radical.

And in general, the students and the associates still came with some of the folk ways of the sixties. For instance, at the outset, students shared a notable disinclination to sit on chairs at tables. [laughs] They wanted to sit on the floor. And I can remember having specially made, with college funds, a rather large number of comfortable square pillows, [laughter] which could be used in classrooms for people who wanted to sit on the floor. I still have one if you want to see it. [laughs]

So that, to a lot of the members of the faculty who knew us and knew our students, we looked like some kind of liberal to radical cell or plot. And I don't think we ever shook off that. Although, when you reflect that people who are likely to be on the liberal side in the political battles in the sixties were possibly the people whose temperament would lead them to be interested in educational innovation, you know, it's one of the ironies of the whole history of the college that the chair of the committee that evaluated the college was one of the most notably conservative-minded persons on campus, which was not a good fit. So there's that whole political difficulty.

LaBerge: Well, how did you recruit the faculty?

Muscatine: But knowing--well, first we [laughs] read their--

LaBerge: Read their writings.

Muscatine: Yes, and some of the nucleus of the staff, which consisted of three faculty members who originated and some teaching associates whom we had already taken on, read essays and books by members of the staff that we wanted to get in touch with and --

LaBerge: Oh, you didn't ask them to submit something?

Muscatine: No, you wouldn't ask a professor to submit anything.

LaBerge: Right. I was going to say, how would you ever say to them, "No, I'm sorry"?

Muscatine: All the full professors had plenty of publications on the Berkeley campus. We did, however, have some persons who volunteered to join us--sweet and lovely people whom we had to respectfully decline, sometimes because we felt that temperamentally they were not right for that kind of atmosphere, although they may have written perfectly good prose.

LaBerge: So how would you say that to--

Muscatine: Very difficult. [laughs] Very difficult. I don't think that we--

##

LaBerge: You can tell the subject excites you and is important to you.

Muscatine: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: Okay, so you would buttonhole certain faculty and ask them.

Muscatine: Yes.

LaBerge: Besides the associate dean that you mentioned, someone else was mentioned I think in this Trow report--that one of their faculty informers who had been on your faculty was disgruntled. Do you mind mentioning who that is? [Pause] You don't want to mention who that is, okay.

Muscatine: No, it's true that one of the persons who actually was on our staff was using us because he couldn't teach the course he wanted to teach in his own department.

LaBerge: Oh, in his regular department.

Muscatine: Yes, yes. So he used us conveniently for quite a while, but apparently remained totally uninvolved in the idea of the college.

LaBerge: Well, that's interesting, too, in relation to one of their recommendations, or not recommendations, but their comment that some professors were bored in their department and this was a good use of their--

Muscatine: Well, that would be okay. But more likely, some professors wanted to teach a subject that the department wouldn't sponsor.

LaBerge: Wouldn't allow.

Muscatine: Yes.

### **Administrative Structure of the College**

LaBerge: Well, what was the sort of governing structure of the college? Was it the three--

Muscatine: No, actually I was the only one who was officially responsible to the university. I was the director. And then we had a very, very democratic situation in which the associates and the regular faculty were absolutely equal in terms of the staff meetings. Their votes counted absolutely equally and of course the students were brought into virtually everything we did.

We discussed grading, for instance. We discussed problems like the fear of failure, [laughs] and had committees established to deal with that. When I was asked to make the reply to some administrator's inquiry, or some inquiry from one of the funding agencies, I always consulted not only the staff, but also the students. There's a lot of input in my files of students and staff on documents that I sent out. It was very, very democratically run, although the faculty had final authority in terms of grades, for instance. And I certainly had final authority in terms of everything, which I very rarely

had to--the only time I really had to exercise authority was, we happened to take on an associate who turned out to be a really violently leftist Marxist who believed in equality, and I mean equality, which means that every student gets an A. [laughter]

LaBerge: Oh.

Muscatine: And we had a real run-in about that. I won, and he resigned and went into his father's contracting business. [laughter] So that was one of the few --

LaBerge: Did both the faculty and the associates do the grading?

Muscatine: Well, each instructor graded his own class, yes.

### **The Ten-Unit Course Question**

LaBerge: How about the all-college meetings?

Muscatine: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: What was that?

Muscatine: Well, in order to justify ten units according to the Berkeley mentality--and this is one of the big--how shall we say?--philosophical issues that we had to engage: the Berkeley mentality is that if you have ten units, you have to spend ten hours of contact so that contact hours equals units of credit.

LaBerge: Okay.

Muscatine: Our philosophy was student work equals units of credit. And that what happens in class, in so-called contact, is sometimes not very educational, and not very significant, but we had to do something to make the idea of the double credit course palatable to the faculty committees. And since the courses only met for about four--I think four or five--hours, we had to provide more, quote, "contact" and we thought, "Well, every week we'll have a two-hour college meeting in which all students will attend." We'll provide a program of educational substance and that will count for more of the so-called contact hours.

And that was one of the most heart-breakingly difficult things that we did because it is very, very hard to get all the students in the program to come to one place for two hours and provide a sure-fire educational experience, although we had all manner of speakers both from the campus and off campus; all manner of serious problems raised and so on. But it was one of the most tiring and disappointing parts of the program, which we shouldn't have had to do.

The reason I kept on file all of the written work of all of the students was to show how much work had been done. And the evaluating committee, as you read, steadfastly avoided looking at those.

- LaBerge: Right. Didn't look at any of it.
- Muscatine: And didn't attend a single seminar, so we were never able to expose them to the work that the students had done.
- LaBerge: Because that was the way, too, they were evaluated. There were no tests. Is that right?
- Muscatine: There were no--very few written tests or quizzes of that sort.
- LaBerge: So it was on the written work and was it also verbal?
- Muscatine: Class performance, oh, sure, yes.

### **Verbal Skills and Composition**

- LaBerge: Well, how did you go about teaching the composition and teaching verbal skills?
- Muscatine: Well, all of the class meetings, except for the very few preliminary ones, were conducted by the students. The students were continually discussing. Each one was taking turns being the facilitator of the meeting, so that every class is an exercise in thinking and speaking. And they were thinking and speaking about the writing or the reading, so the whole thing was unified.
- LaBerge: What would you do--for instance, I'm thinking of myself as a student who hardly ever spoke in class if I didn't have to. What would you do with someone like that, to help them through?
- Muscatine: Well, "Thursday, Germaine, you're going to be the facilitator."
- Okay?
- LaBerge: "I can't do it, Professor!"
- Muscatine: Well, come and see me Wednesday afternoon and we'll go over some of the things that you might want to think about, okay? [laughs]
- LaBerge: So you would assign them, too, then the reading, and then you would discuss it and sort of plan it?
- Muscatine: Yes, and if I had to, you and I would sit down for half an hour or so and we would talk about, "What do you think the issues are here? What will the class find interesting? What should you ask at first?" I mean, that's the sort of thing. But you wouldn't get off the hook.
- LaBerge: Right. I would be there, but then you'd also be there.
- Muscatine: Oh, yes, but I would be "paring my fingernails," as Joyce said. [laughter]

- LaBerge: Who is Joyce?
- Muscatine: James Joyce.
- LaBerge: Oh. [laughter]
- Muscatine: I'm sorry.
- LaBerge: I didn't pick up on it quickly enough.
- Muscatine: That's a famous quote--from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, on the God-like indifference or invisibility of the artist in the presence of his created work.
- LaBerge: That was good. And the same thing with the writing? You would have separate tutorials to go over their writing?
- Muscatine: Well, there were two occasions. First of all, their writing was elaborately analyzed by the class.
- LaBerge: Okay. They would read it to the class, for instance?
- Muscatine: Yes, either read it or--I guess this was before Xerox so I guess they were reading it. But one of the secrets of our real success in teaching composition, particularly in improving spelling, grammar, rhetoric, and so on was that they were preparing this for their colleagues, so that the topic of any given class might be one student's project. You see? Or one student's draft. And we did a lot of having students interchange papers and offer each other suggestions, I think.
- Then, if we ran into any particular--well, all the papers were read and commented on by the instructor, too, you know. And we also had a little writing seminar. We had an executive assistant, who happened to be a graduate student in English, who also conducted a little writing seminar for people who had special difficulties.

### **Evaluation of Program's Successes and Failures**

- LaBerge: Well, and what did you find when the students went on? It was something that the report didn't cover. They didn't try to find out how these students did in other parts of the college. But you did.
- Muscatine: Well, our impression was--I'm not sure that we ever did--we certainly didn't do a study of their grades or their achievements in formal comparison, but for instance, they won a disproportionate number of the undergraduate research fellowships. We had a couple of students go through an experimental bachelor's degree program under the college, and two of them got into law school--one of them to Yale Law School, for instance. I haven't looked at the--[looking at papers]--did I give you this? No, I didn't. Excuse me. Somewhere in here is a--Appendix B, questionnaire results, page 12. We gave a



questionnaire in 1979 to all the former students of the college and we got about 100 replies:

"In comparison with other university courses, how effective has the collegiate seminar program been in helping you develop the following skills? Writing?"

"80 percent 'more effective.' 11 percent 'about the same.' 4 percent 'less effective.'"

Pretty good. "Research?"

"Almost 80 percent."

"Reasoning?"

"60 percent as opposed to 34 about the same," and so on.

"Speaking?"

"80 percent, as opposed to 15 percent about the same."

So we got very, very--well, granted that only the people who answered this questionnaire answered it. [laughs]

LaBerge: Right.

Muscatine: "Are there valuable kinds of learning in collegiate seminar programs that are not available elsewhere on campus?"

"Yes, 86 percent."

LaBerge: Wow.

Muscatine: So from what we could tell, it was quite effective. However, I think we did concede that the original plans for the college were quite grandiose and unrealistic. But in retrospect what I see now is they were unrealistic, but only in terms of the horrendously hostile environment, which was created in part by the opposition. It seems to me that if we had had even a neutral medium in which to work, we would have done much better.

We did not get the sequential courses for the undergraduates that we had imagined, but what we did discover was that one or two of these courses taken consecutively were immensely effective and formative in terms of what the student felt that he or she could do afterwards. And really, that's the nucleus of my present ideas about what higher education is going to need and is going to be about--namely a nucleus of highly concentrated emphasis on skills, surrounded by the welter of subject matter stuff that they can get either on campus or by the internet.

LaBerge: Namely writing and speaking?

Muscatine: Thinking. [laughs] Thinking, writing, reading, and speaking. Research.

LaBerge: How much time?

Muscatine: I've got all year. [laughs] How much money you got?

LaBerge: Oh, we can keep going. Maybe you've already addressed this a little bit, but how successful do you think it was?

Muscatine: Well, let me put it this way. Reading over now the report of the evaluating committee and our response, I think that at the time we were slightly more disappointed in the evaluating committee than we should have been. But there was something to the point they made that a restricted seminar program could have been put, let's say, in the College of Letters and Science, which had some of the features of the collegiate seminar program and might have had some chance of lasting.

On the other hand, it was more successful than they made out for the reasons I pointed out. That is, they did not really regard the methodological coherence of the program, which was extreme, as a feature of coherence. They just saw the different subject matters of the seminars and didn't realize, indeed, that different subject matter was of the essence of those seminars because we were saying to the faculty, "Teach your next book, not your last." We wanted the seminars to be on a very, you know, very edge of thinking about things. And by definition they would change.

So I think that if I hadn't made the mistake of depending on the files, and if as a savvy Berkeley politician I had started in 1973 buttering up the faculty and selling the program--which I didn't do, and I blame myself for a lot of this--it was a question of marketing and public relations which I completely overlooked in the mistaken idea that the evidence would speak for itself. I think that was one of the main ingredients in the failure of the program.

Another ingredient in the failure of the program was fatigue. It may have been possible to do the modest program that the evaluation committee suggested, but we were not going to do it. We were exhausted. The idea was, "Gosh, if you like any of this, take it. But we can't do it."

Thirdly, it was a period of grave financial stress in the university itself and we had rivals in a couple of special programs that were enrolling 400 students each.

LaBerge: Oh, which ones?

### **Closing the Program**

Muscatine: I could find them in the letter of the--where is it? I can find it. It's in the last chancellor's letter telling us that he's closing down the program.

LaBerge: Oh, okay.

Muscatine: He mentioned several--anyhow he mentions of these programs that they were much more substantial programs and they had priority even though the college was not in fact in a position to do anything new.

LaBerge: And this was Vice Chancellor Riley?

Muscatine: Yes. I mentioned the fact that the faculty members couldn't get credit for research, teaching at Strawberry Creek College, but there were other deep-seated reasons why faculty were opposed to the program. Very simply, one was budget. The chairman of the German department said to me once, "I don't care how well you do, I'm against it because if you get money, we'll lose it."

Another factor would have been the "der Herr Professor" complex. A lot of people, a lot of senior faculty were upset that we were using full professors to teach freshmen. It didn't square with their idea of the dignity of the full professor.

Another very deep-seated, almost invisible reason, but I think very important, was the position of the University of California vis-a-vis lower division students, because according to the state plan, which I believe still is operative, colleges are funded so much for graduate students, less for upper division, and even less for lower division. Now the minute you begin to suggest that lower division students are equally as important and have just as many civil rights and claims on the public purse as graduate students do, you're suggesting overturning the whole structure of educational funding in the state to the disadvantage of the university. And I think this factor, that is, the real seriousness and gravity with which we regarded, let's say, the freshmen and sophomore years--was a threat that although it was never made clear, it seems to me had been very important.

LaBerge: And those were the years of bad budgets from--

Muscatine: Yes, yes.

LaBerge: It was Jerry Brown's time, but in any case, we weren't getting money from the state.

Muscatine: Right.

LaBerge: Well, in these reports you gave me, this didn't say Strawberry Creek was ending, because Neil Smelser's committee and his letter just say they wouldn't make a recommendation either way. So you continued another year?

Muscatine: No, they didn't make a recommendation, but the executive committee of the College of Letters and Science finally declined to take us into the college.

LaBerge: I see. Were you thinking that was a place that the college could have a home? Or was that the idea?

Muscatine: No, I didn't really have any other idea, but certainly everyone felt that would be the logical place. At that time, the financial officer of the College of Letters and Science was an extremely able, but how shall we say, [laughs] hard-to-pin-down man, was undoubtedly dead set against our getting any of their money, and that undoubtedly

influenced Provost [Roderic] Park, who was a dear personal friend of mine and a partner in our vineyard. But whom I for that reason didn't ever approach directly on this subject.

LaBerge: Hadn't he been on the Select Committee, too?

Muscatine: Yes. For that reason, no doubt, he was not--apparently he never expressed one thing or the other about the college--but his executive committee turned it down.

LaBerge: Before we talk about the end of it, tell me how you came about choosing the courses? Did each professor or each associate--

Muscatine: Yes, each professor--there was a lot of interchange among the faculty in terms of holding hands and then changing partners, too. This was part of the wonderful collegiality of the staff. You know, some time in the winter or spring we would get together and talk about courses next year, and people through their, you know, personal conversations would think of things they wanted to teach.

LaBerge: And so getting together, too, then you would figure it out so that none of the courses overlapped in subject matter?

Muscatine: No, that wouldn't happen, no. A little bit--some of the courses were repeated one or two times. But it was easy. These people were just fulminating with ideas. You know, they were just so bright--wonderful people.

### **Activities: Speeches, Consultation, Politics**

LaBerge: Well, what did you do when it ended? Did you take a sabbatical? When did you start doing more research? I mean, because your research really ended during that time, right?

Muscatine: Yes, I didn't do much research at all. Well, in let's see, I forgot to mention that I also learned how to fly a plane and got a license during this time. [laughs]

LaBerge: During that time! You were influenced by the--[laughs]

Muscatine: I did a certain amount of escape. [laughter] I can remember one year being somewhere stuck in Oregon in the fog--somewhere in the middle of Oregon, and trying to get back to Berkeley in time for Strawberry Creek graduation [laughs] and flying through some really soupy weather to do it.

LaBerge: Well, tell me about graduation. How did that differ?

Muscatine: Well, we only had--you know, we had a tiny graduation for the few people who got the bachelor's degree under our program. It was very nice. It was in the Women's Faculty Club and it was a nice little ceremony. Some parents came and it was lovely.

Let's see, you asked me--what did you ask me before?

LaBerge: Well, what did you do when it ended?

Muscatine: Well, as I recall, you know, I was still very much on the chicken circuit in terms of higher education--did a lot of consulting and stuff like that. And there was also a lot of political stuff going on. I don't know just when, what the chronology was, but I was heavily involved in trying to prevent tuition from being imposed in the university.

In fact, there was a very funny story connected with that. I don't know whether it was contemporary with this year or not, but Max Rafferty, who was a real rascal, was running for re-election as state superintendent of public instruction. He was a Republican and so I changed my--for the first time in my life, I changed my registration to Republican in order to vote against him in the primary. Concurrent with this, I was also a member of a group that was fighting [Governor Ronald] Reagan on university tuition. And we had put out some kind of a flier which one of our workers had mistakenly run through the franking machine, or the stamp machine, of a Democratic club in northern California. Well, a very clever reporter for the *Examiner* got one of these fliers and checked back on the registry number of the stamping machine and discovered that it was a Democratic club, although it was supposed to be a non-partisan--strictly non-partisan--issue. So they came out with a --he called me up and said--my name was on this document, I guess--he called me up and said, "Well, I see we've caught you red-handed. It's really a Democratic plot, isn't it?"

And I said, "Democratic plot?" I said, "I'm a registered Republican!" [laughter]

LaBerge: [laughs] Oh, that's funny. So were you quoted?

Muscatine: Yes!

LaBerge: Oh, dear.

Muscatine: Well, that's the sort of thing I did. But my research really lay fallow for quite a while. I finally got back to it in the eighties.

LaBerge: And what about Peter Scott and Charlie Sellers? I mean, were they full-time faculty at Strawberry Creek, too?

Muscatine: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: So what did they --

Muscatine: Well, none of us was full time in Strawberry Creek.

LaBerge: Oh, okay.

Muscatine: None of us. Even as director and teaching a course, I was always part time in English.

LaBerge: So were you still teaching?

### **Family and Vineyard ##**

LaBerge: This is sort of an aside, but not really because it pertains: what did your wife and your family think? Or how did this affect them, do you think, your involvement?

Muscatine: Well, I told you that in the seventies, we and the Parks were partners in buying a little vineyard.

LaBerge: Oh, you just mentioned--so what's the name of the vineyard?

Muscatine: Well, we called it Park-Muscatine Vineyard. We sold the grapes to a wonderful winery, Ridge, and in 1975, Robert Parker, the great judge of wines, called Ridge's "Park-Muscatine" "the best Zinfandel [he] had ever tasted."

LaBerge: Wow.

Muscatine: One of the things was we had a lot of wonderful picnics up at the vineyard with Strawberry Creek students and staff, for instance. [laughs] I don't think Strawberry Creek had any negative effects on my family. I think the extent to which I was tired may have been negative, but they met a lot of interesting people.

LaBerge: Because you brought them home?

Muscatine: Yes, oh, yes. We would have dinners for the staff here. And as I said, picnics.

LaBerge: Different than in your regular work as part of the English department? But when you weren't at Strawberry Creek, when you were teaching your regular courses, did you also have students over?

Muscatine: Oh, sure. I had graduate students over, of course, all the time. I was doing theses with graduate students all the time.

### **More on Strawberry Creek College**

LaBerge: I'm going to look at my notes, but are there other things you want to say about Strawberry Creek College?

Muscatine: No. I was sorry that actually the ending of Strawberry Creek was enveloped in a kind of minor bitterness involving the members of the evaluating committee--one of whom wrote a letter to the Richmond *Independent*, which required a reply, alleging that our courses had not been worth ten units and that there was evidence of, you know, a sort of quasi-dishonesty about what we were doing--which the committee had not bothered to put into its report.

I don't know. They had no evidence. I think it was an unfortunate turn of phrase. So there was a certain amount of minor recrimination over the ending of the college.

- LaBerge: Did that affect you then when you were back teaching a full load in the English department and Academic Senate meetings and things like that? I mean, did that follow you through the years?
- Muscatine: No. I'm a very happy, optimistic person and I don't tend to let these things get me down. Although now, thinking of writing about higher education with the perspective of twenty, thirty years, I'm only beginning to discover a kind of deep disappointment in the profession as a whole, which obviously derives from those experiences.
- LaBerge: But you must have such satisfaction with the fact that you gave it a go.
- Muscatine: [laughs] If not that, nothing. If not that, nothing, you know.
- LaBerge: How many other faculty do you think still teach freshmen the way you did?
- Muscatine: In my department?
- LaBerge: In your department and across the --
- Muscatine: None. Well, I think as a matter of fact, that the history department in the humanities is the only department that has had a consistent policy of lower division seminars which are quite successful, although they're really honors situations rather than open and demotic ones the way ours were. And the current so-called freshman seminar program on the campus is to my mind just a terrible waste of time.
- LaBerge: Isn't it just a one-unit course?
- Muscatine: It's a one-unit course that has absolutely no requirements. I think it was undoubtedly--originally, at least, undoubtedly--established to provide statistics for the legislature on the number of courses taught by full professors to lower division students.

### **Evaluation by FIPSE**

- LaBerge: The evaluation report referred to another report done by Professor Mandelbaum from the University of Pennsylvania. Was that an outside evaluation?
- Muscatine: Yes, that was an outside evaluation carried on by the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, or FIPSE as it is called.
- LaBerge: Who was funding you?
- Muscatine: Yes, exactly. Was quite well justified, very well done. The report was beautifully written up by Mandelbaum. It provided a very cogent critique. Well taken. About halfway through our history.
- LaBerge: And did that committee look at the papers and come to classes?

Muscatine: Oh, yes. They did. They did what they were supposed to do.

LaBerge: Too bad that it wasn't paid attention to.

Muscatine: Well, Riley actually had asked me, you know, what kind of a committee should evaluate the college and I had told him. Among other things I had mentioned all the records we had and I mentioned the need to have people who understood the college and were well acquainted with it. And for some reason he did not constitute the committee that way and I think partly--well, two reasons: one is he probably could not get anybody easily.

LaBerge: Yes.

Muscatine: That would do it. It was a thankless task. You have to confront notoriously combative colleagues like Muscatine and Sellers [laughter] and Scott. I think finally he got the person he got because this person not only considered education his field, but I think he felt a kind of moral obligation [laughs] to do it. I won't say "do us in," but do it.

LaBerge: Well, do you want to comment on cynicism versus idealism in higher education? You kind of have been commenting on it.

Muscatine: Well, they go together. [laughs] You can't be a cynic unless you've been a disappointed idealist. I really don't think that the inertia of the American faculty is due to cynicism, if that's what you were alluding to. I think it is due to conservatism, self-satisfaction, laziness, [laughs] and prestige consciousness.

There's a lot of idealism floating around and my files are full of news of this program and that program. For years I've gotten correspondence with all kinds of people who have tried things all over the country and almost to a man or a woman, they have been squashed by the good 'ole boys.

LaBerge: Did you get involved in any of the efforts, for instance, for women's studies or ethnic studies? Some of those things?

Muscatine: Oh, very much. Oh, yes.

LaBerge: Because they all were based on--

Muscatine: Oh, I was actually on the committee that instituted the first women's studies. And of course women's studies was made possible by the Board of Educational Development, which goes back to the Select Committee work.

LaBerge: Do you have anything more on Strawberry Creek College? No? You'll probably think of it later, but you can add.

Muscatine: Well, I think I've said most of the things I probably wanted to say. I think I might when we send back the transcript, I might add a very small, just thumbnail description of the college--a paragraph--as a context for your questions, don't you think?

LaBerge: Yes.



Muscatine: Or maybe you can make a note--well, maybe you've got it on the tape here, yes.

LaBerge: And I think, too, to deposit these in the Bancroft along with the oral history is good.  
Any of these papers.

Muscatine: I'm going to deposit them all.

LaBerge: The whole bunch, yes, okay.

Muscatine: Yes.



## TAPE GUIDE--Charles Muscatine

## Interview 1: June 7, 2000

Tape 1, Side A	1
Tape 1, Side B	13
Tape 2, Side A	24
Tape 2, Side B	not recorded

## Interview 2: July 25, 2000

Tape 3, Side A	31
Tape 3, Side B	43

## Interview 3: August 30, 2000

Tape 4, Side A	51
Tape 4, Side B	62

## Interview 4: September 14, 2000

Tape 5, Side A	75
Tape 5, Side B	not recorded
Tape 6, Side A	64
Tape 6, Side B	84
Tape 7, Side A	94
Tape 7, Side B	not recorded



March 22-25, 1964

## NINETEENTH ALL-UNIVERSITY FACULTY CONFERENCE

59

be developed for production, storage, distribution, and use of all learning resources.

4. That learning resources facilities be constructed on each campus to make the new technologies easily available, such centers to include fully equipped conference facilities including arrangements for multilingual interpreter services. That as a fore-runner to such facilities, immediate plans be developed for intercampus elec-

tronic communications for the interchange of conferences, library materials, and live television.

5. That future All-University Faculty Conferences be held in quarters that would permit the full utilization of communication technology, including television facilities for video-taping so that in addition to the printed proceedings, the videotapes may be replayed on each campus.

## THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON TEACHING: THE CASE FOR THE TEACHER

Charles Muscatine

Since this session of the program was billed as "a discussion . . . on a controversial subject," I at first imagined that after Dr. Beeston's excellent presentation, I would be expected to express chagrined opposition to the spread of technology in teaching—to take the part, perhaps sentimentally, of some noble, old-fashioned, obsolete conception of teaching; to take the part of Mr. Chips; or perhaps to provide the monitory spectacle of a Mr. Chips being dragged kicking and screaming into the second half of the twentieth century—an example of the conservatism and intransigence typical of professors when they are forced to contemplate their own craft.

I can, however, do none of these things. I have myself, long ago, said "Goodbye, Mr. Chips." I do not believe in sentimentality as a teaching method or as a method of argument, and, besides, I am in favor of technological progress. The controversy, if there is a controversy between Dr. Beeston and me, is certainly not a simple and direct one, and on first inspection it looks as if only a person congenitally contentious could find any controversy at all.

Indeed, after hearing the Monday morning discussions here, which, as you recall, generated quite a few pithy antimechanical statements—if may be that I am knocking on an open door, and it is Dr. Beeston who is in the minority. In that case, I

should immediately like to range myself on *his* side, and ask that we get busy on more research into what technological devices can actually do for us.

The fact is that the people who are leading thought in the area of educational television and programmed instruction are intelligent men who have said too many sensible things to make first-rate controversy. I subscribe to their notion that much recent educational technology, in the first place, merely enables students and teachers to do the traditional things more easily and better. Conceived simply as tools in the hands of the teacher, these various aids can have much good in them and little harm, and can be no more reasonably objected to than, let us say, the replacement of the kerosene lamp by the electric lamp as a reading aid, or the replacement of the scratchy, fragile, and inefficient quill pen first by the fountain pen and now by the ball point. It has recently been reported in *Newsweek* that "Dartmouth . . . will soon install one \$800,000 computer and hook it up to sixteen remote-control stations scattered around campus. Students (most of whom are taught computer programming as freshmen) will be able to go to one of these stations, type out a mathematical problem and, if the computer can answer the question, get a reply in a few seconds." Now I say that if that is the way the boys at Dartmouth want to solve their

math problems—or even balance their checkbooks—there is no great harm in it. There is, indeed, a very large area of possible agreement here. Most of us would agree that a teacher using technological devices has a large number of advantages over the teacher unaided by these devices. A first-rate piece of instructional programming is very much like a first-rate textbook: it promises to be an excellent help to the student when he goes off to study certain things by himself. And we must remember that the textbook itself is no more than an older technological device. TV is marvelous for magnification of experiments and exhibits and for teaching large numbers in different rooms and at different times. A good TV lecture, most of us might agree, is just as good as, certainly no worse than, a good textbook. (If you argue that it is easier to turn back the pages of the textbook, it can be replied that TV can be superior in vividness and clarity—especially for the student who is a little weak on reading.) A teacher confronted with preparing a television lecture, one tends to agree, may well feel it necessary to put more care into its presentation than he puts into an ordinary classroom lecture. Television can bring more teaching to “underprivileged schools” where teachers are in short supply, and it can enable schools (or campuses of a university) to share their best teachers. Similar areas of agreement could readily be found to apply to language labs, computer and information retrieval techniques, and the like.

Leading communications researchers have been gratifyingly quick and candid in recognizing the possible defects and even dangers in the use of these machines. Wilbur Schramm writes of educational TV, for instance: “television cuts down on interaction in the classroom.” “It doesn’t stop to answer questions. It doesn’t readily permit class discussion . . . it doesn’t adjust very well to individual differences. It tends to encourage a passive form of learning rather than an active seeking.” In contrast

to Schramm, Wilbur, *Programmed Instruction*, (New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education (1962).

sidering the use of programmed instruction, Schramm recognizes the fundamental difference between teaching by conditioning (the basic idea behind most programming) and teaching by “discovery”:

“ . . . what the scientists want to do with public school students is to teach them the thought patterns of mathematicians and scientists. They are not to be taught laws and theorems and relationships; they are to be taught how to generate and discover laws, theorems, and meaningful relationships. There is a neat distinction, in the vocabulary of these scientists, between what is *meaningful* and what is *useful*. Specific laws or formulas are useful in a transient way, but the ability to think in a highly generalized way, to perceive the interconnectedness of ideas, to be able to generate new laws and relate new observations to each other are *meaningful*. In other words, what is important in science teaching is not the products of science, but rather its *tools*. . . . So taught, some of the best of the students will enter college better prepared to become scientists, and most of the students will be able, not only to understand some of the science around them, but also to look at their own problems in a more nearly scientific way. This is an exciting, a challenging approach to curriculum. And if we ask what is the place of programmed instruction in this new kind of curriculum . . . we find that, as far as teaching by discovery is concerned, it is very small. This is a defect certain to warm the heart of any program-hater. The question, then, is not a matter of black and white, but of the balancing of acknowledged advantages and disadvantages. Where there may begin to arise justifiable controversy is in predicting how the advantages and disadvantages balance out, and in judging, provided that we see fit to use major technical equipment in teaching, whether it can be controlled to its proper uses. For our situation, I conceive these uses

to Schramm, Wilbur, *Programmed Instruction*, (New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education (1962).

to be limited and peripheral. For our task—which I take to be the teaching of a very high grade of university students—and teaching them mainly “by discovery” rather than by “conditioning,” which is to say, teaching them to think and to understand rather than merely to repeat. If, in the words of the very good report of our study committee I-A, “independent study” may “be recognized as the substance and goal of a university education,” then we should not look to any of the major technological devices to take over an important part of our teaching or course presentation. With all their acknowledged advantages, unless they are carefully and properly subordinated, they can produce only mediocre results.

With regard to the central use of programmed instruction, one is tempted to make the generalization that if you can program a whole course according to Skinnerian principles and get just as good results as you are getting now, it is either not a university subject and ought to be thrown out, or you are teaching it in so mediocre a fashion that you ought to be thrown out. I have never seen so telling and self-incriminating, if unconscious, account of our present attitude toward the teaching of lower division courses as in the confident assumption of our Study Committee I-B (page 13) that by 1984 instruction in certain “standardized basic subjects” will be offered by a variety of machines. The subjects referred to are “the bulkier part of lower division instruction in English composition, in mathematics through elementary calculus and certain phases of linear algebra, in the beginning courses in social sciences and in foreign languages, etc.” I am not competent to talk about the mathematics courses, but it seems certain to me that we could do better than to standardize or automate lower division teaching in composition, or languages, or social science. You could program and teach by machine a correct English grammar and syntax, and this might do for a mediocre (high school?) course in composition. But there is not much life or interest or even use in correct

grammar and syntax unless the student feels that he has something he wants to say; so far, programming doesn’t help with this side of the problem, which far outweighs the importance of mere grammatical correctness in any good college course in composition. I might mention that for each student the bulkier part of the Berkeley course in composition is in the planning, writing, conferring over, correcting, and rewriting of ten thousand words of essays per semester. Neither programming nor television can cope with such central matters as the properly functional organization, the rhetorical strategy, the tone, or the maturity of argument in an essay that a given student wants to write at a given time.

I think that there are similar, though perhaps less serious, defects in the idea that you should automate, beyond a certain point, teaching in foreign languages. Of course a language lab can be of great assistance in teaching pronunciation, or in teaching conventional phraseology. When the machine says “*merci beaucoup*” the student can be taught to produce an imitable “*je vous en prie, madame*” every time. But unfortunately, the machine is not a cultured French woman, and sitting and talking with it can never be made an adequate substitute for knowing the real thing. Again, it is not a matter of bad versus good, but of mediocrity versus excellence.

With the teaching of “beginning courses” in social science, the prospect of automation begins to have positively undesirable overtones. An “automated” United States history or elementary economics course will, in the first place, inevitably tend to aspire to the condition of inoffensive propaganda. In the second place the assumption that somehow the making of a long view over a large and complicated field, the translation of limited specific research results into subtle changes in the larger picture—that these activities are somehow easier to standardize and transmit to students than are more “advanced” thinking. The reverse seems to

me to be true: that a sensitive, responsible overview is a rare and difficult thing; that if our specific researches mean anything it is in their possible contribution to our ever-changing, ever-refining larger picture of man and nature. If you are teaching United States history in such a way as to suggest that it is a "standardized" subject—that it is not difficult, problematical, controversial, changing, hard to generalize—then what you need, I suggest, is not a programmer or a television set but a more mature approach to the subject.

I suggest in general that if lower division introductory courses are conceived with the sophistication requisite for courses in a great university, they will have to be taught mainly by live teachers. The fact that we can think of them as being automated is less an argument for automation than it is an indictment of the teaching that presently goes on. Indeed, one may venture a corollary: that in our context large-scale, central use of mechanical aids will merely serve to spread and entrench what is already mediocre teaching in the system.

Contemplation of a system of televised lectures will immediately make this clear. I have already quoted Wilbur Schramm on the admitted defects of television teaching. They are curiously similar to the defects of the lecture system itself: "It cuts down on interaction in the classroom. . . . it doesn't stop to answer questions, it doesn't readily permit class discussion. . . . It doesn't adjust very well to individual differences. It tends to encourage a passive form of learning rather than an active seeking." If you grant that the lecture system is good, or anyhow, inevitable, then the televised lecture system will be just as good and just as inevitable. Or almost as good; for I think that the admitted defects of televised lectures outweigh somewhat their advantages.

I am concerned that the appearance of even the best and most "authoritative" lectures in a large television system will deepen the "authoritarian" element, the flow of comment in only one direction, the absence of dialogue, that is so clearly a

defect of the lecture system. The inferior feedback to the TV lecturer is obvious, especially when you imagine an audience on different campuses, and days, months, or years later.

The superior clarity and finish of televised presentations are overbalanced, I think, by the slickness and simplification that are bound to come with them. Here the criticism that I have made of the idea of standardizing lower division courses is exactly in point. Lectures prepared for television are likely to be carefully made—too carefully made, perhaps, for a college audience, with too much of the blandness, confidence, neatness, and safety that go into so many a standard product put up for large-scale consumption. TV will inevitably intensify the element of performance and entertainment already inherent in our lecture system. A statewide television hookup will broadcast only the star performers, and their performance will respond to the fact that the student body will be, if nothing else, a body of experienced and sophisticated TV viewers, who in this medium will unconsciously demand professional "performance." Frankly, if we must have big lectures, I'd prefer a live, bumbling lecturer, with egg on his face, scratch himself, mispronounce a word, or even forget a page of his notes. This is not out of sentimental attachment to the real man over the picture, but because I believe that the bumbling man suggests better than does the slick picture that a good lecture course should not be merely a simple and clear transfer of what the professor is sure of into what the student can take for granted; that it is not a collegiate form of entertainment, but at its best is the record—and for the student the witnessing—of the struggle, with all its inevitable incompleteness and imperfections, of the struggle of a good human mind to comprehend and control an important and difficult subject, right to the edges of what can be known and understood of that subject up to that day. Less than this is mediocrity that we might as well put on TV. (And here, in the margin

of my script, I find a note: "cough, and blow nose.")

I have so far hardly touched on another problem in technological teaching, the one that communications researchers refer to as that of the "intangibles," or that the March 2 *Newsweek* sums up by saying: "The problem for the colleges, as for society as a whole, is mechanizing without dehumanizing." *Newsweek* quotes someone from Educational Facilities Laboratories as saying: "There is much to be said for the old-fashioned teacher . . . there is an indefinable magic in the human presence that no electronic tube can ever duplicate." Put in these magical terms, the phenomenon seems difficult, and highly suspect. "What magic?" we may imagine the communications researcher to be asking. "We need to do more research on the intangibles. So far it seems that TV students learn just as well as non-TV students."

The problem is exceedingly un-magical; however, it seems to me to have less to do with the learning process itself than with its setting and its ideological and moral context. Some of the more ridiculous proposals for automation will themselves illustrate the point. According to *Newsweek*, again: "Conceivably, without ever leaving his room, a student will be able to sit in on lectures, use the library facilities, and even take examinations. 'Eventually,' says Dr. Kenneth Williams, the able president of Florida Atlantic (I am still quoting *Newsweek*), 'we will equip the study stations with individual response units. These will be a series of buttons or dials that will permit a student to respond to questions shown on the TV monitor or movie screen. The answers will then be fed into a computer where they can be inspected later by the instructor and the student.' One is forced to wonder how much later, and what they will have to talk about. 'See that symbol on the tape,' says the instructor. 'How come you made that symbol?' And the student answers, 'Me? You sure that's my tape we're looking at?' 'Sure I'm sure,' says the instructor, 'you're number 406753, aren't you?' You answered

'true' instead of 'false' on question seven-teen." "Oh, I guess I just pushed the wrong button." "You're not supposed to push the wrong button." "Well, it's this way, Mr. . . . er, Mister; you see . . . that must have been when my girl friend woke up."

There is much to be said for the sheer presence of both the teacher and the student in the classroom. I do not despise the educational value of the teacher's monitoring gaze, or the wonderful exercise in discipline it is to have to sit for fifty full minutes without chewing gum, the exhilarating mental training to have to be alert for a sudden, unexpected question. But there is even more to be said, not on the side of training and discipline, but on the side of humanness, on the side of making the student feel that he is a person and that learning is a typically human concern. Machines, it is true, have many of the characteristics of good people: they are trustworthy, loyal, helpful, and obedient. (Expensive machines may be said, even, to have a certain amount of academic ten-ure!) But they cannot do as well as a live teacher can in creating an atmosphere that tells the student that he is a unique individual and that somebody cares about this fact. The machine, in short, is hopelessly inferior as a source of that humane influence and moral example that every good teacher provides just by virtue of his being a man teaching.

Flavio delivered myself of this moderately platitudinous remark, you will imagine, I have not only knocked at an open door but positively fallen through it. I have furthermore so hedged my critique of machine teaching by objecting, not to its proper, auxiliary role, but only to its usurpation of the central role in education, that I would seem to be on absolutely safe ground, for now and forever. But I do not feel that I (that we) are on safe ground, and for this reason I turn to twenty brief discussion of the odds that in twenty years the machine will not have been allowed to exceed its proper role.

I don't know what the answer is, but I feel that there is danger in the situation that is already apparent. The danger comes

not from the nice machines themselves, and not from the inherent logic of their possibilities for improving education. We can depend on the intelligence of the best communications researchers to protect us from bad thinking in this area. The danger, rather, comes from the very cultural dynamics of the situation in which we find ourselves; from the technological mentality that dominates (I should almost say "infects") American culture and which has the capacity to convert these machines from means to ends, from machines, in short, to symbols of its own highest values.

This danger, of course, is not limited to the University: it is a danger central to our whole culture. But it besets the academic community in an especially aggravated form. And because of the unrivaled size and complexity of this University, it besets us most painfully of all. The real problem of the impact of technology on teaching is not whether we will have machines teaching by 1984, but whether we will have lost the University to the logic of the technological mentality.

In more concrete terms, the question is whether we will have by 1984 to accept mediocrity rather than excellence in education just because mechanical techniques are so readily appreciated as symbols of modernity and up-to-dateness, and of efficient and economical mass industrial production.

This problem so touches every important phase of University operation, that one could (and I will) use the separate topics of this conference as gathering points for a few illustrative remarks. I am mindful that much, perhaps all, of what I say will have crossed the minds of many of you, and certainly of those of you who have the responsibility for the higher destinies of the University. Yet it will perhaps be interesting to you to know that as one whose business it is to deal with language, I am alarmed and saddened when I hear distinguished colleagues using, to describe the educational process of the University, metaphors taken from industrial production. I can almost forgive President Kerr, who after all is a world-

famous expert on industrial relations, and whose capacity for the clear, the pithy, and the memorable analogy is well known; I can forgive him for proclaiming to the world that we are in "the knowledge industry." But I cannot forgive my less privileged colleagues of Study Committee I-II, who on page 10 of our Program complain that "our methods of producing educated human beings have undoubtedly changed less in the twentieth century than the methods of producing any other commodity," and call for a larger "corporate effort" in this direction. It makes me nervous to hear curriculum reform referred to as "repackaging of courses" and teaching hours as "faculty input and output."

I don't know how much true infection of the University by the technological mentality these metaphors imply, but there is other evidence that our educational process already suffers from it. I have already mentioned that we have begun to mechanize our teaching, without machines, with a sterile conception of the lower division and with a lecture system that stifles dialogue. I should also have mentioned the implications of our great use of mediocre, objective examinations—where in most cases efficiency of grading has won out over the much superior teaching and learning by essay examinations. Another danger sign is the transformation, on our campuses, of the typical image of the teacher into that of the snappy, efficient, go-getting, industrial sub-manager, plane ticket in hand, dispatch case full of contracts, too busy, often, to teach, and, when he teaches, not an example of Man Teaching but of Man Running a Production Line. Our students do not need to come to a university to find that. I often feel that in every boy on our campus who feels the need to run around barefoot and grow a beard, for every unwashed girl in those hideous black tights, we have a student who is commenting on our failure of character and particularly our failure to recognize worth, character, and individuality in them.

It takes little imagination to see in the organizational structure of the University

a similarly lush ground for the growth of a mentality uncongenial to the highest excellence in teaching, and I am grateful that our administration, with its emphasis on decentralization and variety, is amply aware of that fact. The University has already much of the character of an industrial corporation. In terms of purely fiscal control, this structure has doubtless much to recommend it. We must never let the logic of corporate structure—with its drive for uniformity and neatness—homogenize our product to put it out in uniform packages. The University, via the Master Plan and the Coordinating Council, is itself apparently only a part of an even more monstrous corporate entity. I pray that the efforts emanating from the directing intelligences of this vast body—to give uniform education in California (by which is meant a universal calendar and the blessings of a universal, year-round quarter system)—I pray that these efforts are propelled by the highest educational concerns.

If the road to hell is paved with good intentions in education as elsewhere, then there is nowhere better paving material than in the concept of Public Service. In the sixteen years since I joined this faculty I have heard more bad educational policy justified in the name of Public Service than by any other invocation, human or divine. But again, I do not need to alert anyone here to the loud promise of mediocrity inherent in such notions as of the University as "servant" to industry or indeed even as servant to the State. We should, of course, lead industry, and lead it by years, and have higher and better notions than the State. Business, industry,

we can be sure, will attend to what the State wants; our role, I submit, is to help the State decide what it *should* want. Our best service to the State is to be best as a university, no matter what. When it comes to the dollars-and-cents issue, when the population explosion meets the knowledge explosion, when we are asked to teach more students less well, when Mediocrity comes misty-eyed to us in the shining white garb of Public Service, I say let's turn the trolley away. Let us resist the impulse to install the symbols of efficiency and economy, or the language and thinking of big business and industrial production, because this is all the language and thinking that the Legislature understands. If we are not to succumb ourselves to the technological mentality, we shall have to educate the State, and industry, and above all the Legislature, to the vocabulary and procedures of intellectual and humane concerns.

I grant you that our entering student of 1984 may not be a very prepossessing specimen: the anonymous product of some identical house in some interminable slum of a suburb that is slowly expiring in its own waste; his eyes bleary from a steady diet of noneducational TV; his bone marrow slightly tainted with radioactive strontium; always just a trifle nauseated by breathing too much carbon monoxide; always just a trifle weary from the pushing and the shoving of too many of his anonymous contemporaries.

What are we going to say to him? Are we going to say, "Report to study station number 42786? Or are we going to say 'You . . . you, number 36725, you count!'"

## THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON TEACHING

### Summary of Discussion

The discussion reflected faculty concern with the problem of preserving and improving quality of instruction; the possibility of finding technological solutions to the pressure of increasing student population on available faculty; and changes in substantive content and analytic skills to be taught, which result from computer-aided improvements in our reasoning and problem-solving abilities.



A recurring theme was the necessity of changing procedures of instruction to solve the problem of a rapidly increasing student population. It was stated that technological devices such as taped television lectures and programmed self-instructional materials can be used repeatedly after an initial intensive investment of professional time and of capital outlay; thus, they may provide a partial solution to the faculty shortage. On the other hand, it was suggested by several speakers that the personnel economies may not always be great; closed-circuit TV for short-term local use may be expensive in technical personnel and may require many assistants for the staffing of discussion sections.

The increase in student enrollments does not affect each campus and each department equally. The larger campuses and some departments find the "steady state" close at hand and consequently need not expect increasing enrollments *per se* to require substantial changes in the organization for, or materials of, instruction. Television teaching, programmed instruction, and other technological changes, if used as a solution to the problem of increasing enrollments, would have their greatest impact on the new and emerging campuses, and perhaps within the larger campuses, on departments of mathematics and the sciences.

The major concern expressed by the discussants was with the quality of instruction. Technological changes in teaching must be justified on the basis of their improved contribution to the education of the student. Though the cost of operating the University is an important consideration, it must proceed from the requirements of the educational process; it must not determine what that process shall be.

There was a wide range of opinion as to whether technological changes in teaching would facilitate or interfere with effective teaching and learning, when cost factors were discounted. Some speakers claimed that such methods were most ap-

propriate for the set answer and the orthodox solution, and were inherently blind to the live question. It was remarked that mechanical teaching devices minimized the interplay of teacher and student, the student's sense of being addressed directly and observed, and the teacher's sense of a live audience ready to correct his mistakes and raise questions.

In counter-argument it was suggested that devices such as the programmed sequence present many possibilities for the improvement of instruction. Rote knowledge is not the only information to be taught by programs. Present research with this medium involves concept learning, discovery, and creative problem solving. The advantage of technological changes in making possible the clarification of goals, methods, and criteria for the testing of learning was urged. Programmed materials in particular were described as especially appropriate for research in the learning process, because sequences of instruction are necessarily specified and reproducible, and detailed records of student responses at every phase of learning may be available.

Most of the speakers took moderate positions, arguing for the exploration of possibilities. Those who had experience varied in their reactions, but the experience discussed was limited to the use of TV in amplifying otherwise inaccessible displays (as in the medical school), the showing of documentary films, short-term, closed-circuit lecturing, recording of more elaborate TV lectures for extensive circulation, and use of programmed materials in research on instruction itself.

In an historical reference to the adaptation of education to changing technology, it was noted that the invention of the book was a threat to the medieval lecture system; out of changed conditions arose the tutorial system. No saving in professional time but perhaps an improvement in the quality of education was finally achieved.

## RESOLUTIONS

### General

1. The Twentieth Anniversary All-University Faculty Conference sends greetings to President Emeritus Robert Gordon Sproul. We regret that he has been unable to be with us on this occasion. We are grateful for his long period of leadership in the University and for his imagination in initiating these conferences and in sponsoring them on thirteen occasions. We hope for his continued fruitful participation in the life of the University.

2. We express our thanks to The Regents, President Kerr, and the officers of the University for the opportunity to participate in this conference, and to Chancellor Mraz, the Committee on Local Arrangements, and the staff and residents of Struve and Titus Halls for their generous hospitality.

3. We commend the President and The Regents for their recent actions contributing to the welfare of the University community and the leadership of the University.

4. As future topics for consideration at these conferences, we recommend:

- The University in teacher education and development of academic curricula
- The lower division in the University curriculum
- The arts in the University, and the University in the arts.

### The Educational Process

- The University should expand its research on teaching and learning within the University as well as at other levels to include development, application, and assessment of new teaching methods and instructional devices; educational organization; program content; evaluation of students; total student environment; and cultivation of creative and analytical abilities.
- The University should emphasize and expand self-education and independent study, using new techniques for the acquisition of basic academic skills where appropriate and building upon rising standards of pre-University preparation.
- Increased institutional support should be given to research and teaching in the field of information science.
- The published policy on sabbatical leaves should be modified to make it explicit that faculty members are encouraged to engage in refresher studies in their own or ancillary disciplines. Such leaves might be particularly appropriate for faculty members who are concluding periods of heavy administrative responsibility.

### The Organizational Structure

- All academic and administrative units, departmental chairmen, deans, and directors should be given rigorous and searching periodic reviews by appropriately constituted committees. These reviews should include consideration of the continued existence or reorganization of the unit and of the appropriateness of rotation of administrative personnel.
- Greater autonomy in the handling of

[ 67 ]

# 68 THE UNIVERSITY, 1944-64-84, RESPONSES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

budget and appointments of nonladder personnel should be granted to academic departments, and chairmen should receive appropriate administrative stipends. In order to facilitate rotation of department chairmen and to ensure their early familiarity with their duties, the several campuses should establish guidelines and afford orientation for newly appointed chairmen.

3. The University commends research centers and institutes for their contribution to the teaching function and encourages them to expand this contribution in conjunction with the regular teaching departments.

4. Postdoctoral scholars and academic research personnel affiliated with departments and institutes should be extended appropriate recognition as members of the University community.

5. The University should develop a high-level nonacademic staff in departments, research units, and committees of the Academic Senate. Development of such a staff requires training in University procedures and practices and revision of nonacademic salary scales.

6. Maintenance of similar standards within the diverse programs developing on the various campuses should be encouraged through:

- a. Use of inter-campus doctoral examiners and members of academic review committees.
- b. Periodic comparison by the State-wide Budget Committee of actual cases

of promotion and appointment on the various campuses.

c. Appointments to observer status on key committees on established campuses for selected persons from newer campuses.

d. Review of departments or other units by committees composed of visitors from other campuses of the University as well as local faculty members.

7. Improvement of academic communication among campuses should be encouraged through establishment of hotel-type accommodations for inter-University visitors and use of all available devices, including closed-circuit television and helicopter service.

8. Every effort should be made to ensure that contract and grant research support strengthen the primary activities of the University.

9. The University should encourage the policy adopted by certain federal agencies in which research support is given primarily in the form of individual grants and contracts but with an appropriate percentage of such support given to the University in addition as institutional grants without specified purpose.

10. Only in exceptional circumstances should contracts and grants involve classified research.

11. A review should be undertaken of the impact of large-scale classified research projects on the entire University program on a case-by-case basis.

## The Public Service Function

1. The University should continue to perform public service through its regular activities, expansion into new areas, and individual participation by its personnel. Significant public service should involve an awareness of the current and anticipated future state of our environment, critical examination of this environment, and development of solutions to the problems it presents.

2. The University should seek to develop more detailed standards for identifying meaningful public service activity.

3. The University should expand its public service effort in such areas as:

- a. Establishing the campuses as cultural centers, through encouraging the creation, preservation, and dissemination of works of literature, art, and music, and the development of imagina-

# NINETEENTH ALL-UNIVERSITY FACULTY CONFERENCE

tive solutions to problems of architecture and environmental design.

b. Assistance in the development of the California educational system at all levels.

c. Provision of library services both to other academic users throughout the nation and to qualified users of all types within the State.

d. Continuing adult education through University Extension.

4. Special organizational units for the performance of public service functions should be established within the University only when they make a positive con-

tribution to teaching and research. Such units already in existence should be periodically reexamined in terms of their costs and contributions to the University.

5. Individual faculty members should be encouraged as private citizens to take part in analyses of public issues, particularly their areas of special competence. Evaluation of such activity within the University's framework should be made in terms of its impact upon the individual's teaching activity and research contribution.

Present recognition in faculty review procedures of outstanding service to public institutions should be continued.

## INDEX--Charles Muscatine

- Anderson, Judith, 9  
 Aptheker, Bettina, 36  
 Aschenbrenner, Carl, 82-83  
 Auden, W.H., 7
- Bennington College, 6-7, 11, 66, 78  
 Bern, Howard, 15, 74  
 Boyer, Ernest, 77  
 Brayfield, Arthur, 24  
 Brodeur, Arthur, 14-15  
 Bronson, Bertrand H., 8-9, 52  
 Brown, Edmund G., Jr. (Jerry), 91  
 Brown, Edmund G., Sr. (Pat), 43  
 Brown, Norman O., 22  
 Butterfield, Victor, 22
- Caldwell, Jim, 52  
 Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 77  
 Chaucer, 4, 8, 11, 20, 27, 30, 35, 45, 48, 64;  
     *Chaucer and the French Tradition*, 32  
 childhood, 1-3  
 Christ, Carol, 62  
 civil rights, 35, 37, 91  
 Clark, Veve, 73  
 Clinton, Hillary, 27  
 Communists, 14, 16-17, 25  
 Constance, Lincoln, 44, 49
- Davis, Alva R. (Sailor), 30  
 Davisson, Malcolm, 16  
 Deutsch, Monroe, 26, 46  
 Dewey, John, 78  
 Doyle, Leonard, 24  
 Drucker, Peter, 7  
 Durham, Henriette, 18-19  
 Durham, Willard (Bull), 18
- Edelstein, Ludwig, 24  
*Education at Berkeley*, 60-64. *See also* University  
     of California, Select Committee on  
     Education  
 education, views on, 7, 11, 66  
 Evergreen State College, 76  
*Experiment at Berkeley*, 66-67
- Fisher, Walter, 23  
 Fretter, William, 48, 55, 81  
 Fromm, Erich, 7  
 Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary  
     Education (FIPSE), 75, 81, 95-96  
 Fussell, Ed, 19
- Gardner, David, 30  
 Giesey, Ralph, 14, 29  
 graduate education. *See* higher education,  
     University of California  
 graduate students, 38-39, 45, 67, 94  
 Graham, Martha, 7  
 Great Books programs, 76-77
- Hampshire College, 76-77  
 Harper, Larry, 15, 28  
 Heist, Paul, 65  
 Herr, Richard, 70  
 Heyman, I. Michael, 42, 44; committee, 42  
 higher education, 48-49, 52-53, 58-59, 64-65, 79-  
     81, 89, 93, 95. *See also* University of  
     California, Select Committee on Education  
     and Strawberry Creek College  
*Hitler's Professors*, 6, 17  
 House Un-American Activities Committee, 35  
 Huntington, Emily, 242
- Jarrett, Rheem, 38  
 Jewish background, 2-3  
 Joyce, James, 87-88
- Kantorowicz, Ernst, 14, 24, 29  
 Kelley, John, 24  
 Kent, Jack T., 25  
 Kent, Mary Tolman, 20, 25  
 Kerr, Clark, 27-28, 30, 36-37, 40-43, 52-53
- Landels, Ed, 25  
 Langhorst, Fred, 23  
 Lawson, Andy, 22  
 lawsuits (*Tolman v. Underhill*), 18, 22, 24-25, 32  
 Lehman, Benjamin, 9-10, 18-20, 22  
 Lewy, Hans, 24  
 Loewenberg, Jack, 24  
 loyalty oath. *See* University of California, Berkeley

Mandelbaum, ----, 95  
 Martin, Waldo, 73  
 Meicklejohn, Alexander, 26, 67  
 Meyerson, Martin, 41, 56  
 military service, 1, 4-6, 44  
 Muscatine, Alison (daughter), 27, 36, 46  
 Muscatine, Bertha (mother), 3  
 Muscatine, Doris Corn (spouse), 5-7, 10, 17, 20, 27, 29, 46, 52, 66, 94  
 Muscatine, Jeffrey (son), 27, 46  
 Muscatine, Leonard (brother), 2  
 Muscatine, Samuel (father), 2  
  
 National Endowment for the Humanities, 77, 81-82  
 Neylan, John Francis, 21  
  
*Old French Fabliaux, The*, 4, 32-33, 35, 43-44, 52  
  
 Park, Roderic, 92, 94  
 Parkinson, Tom, 40, 43  
 Park-Muscatine Vineyard, 94  
 Peterson, Alice (sister), 2  
 Pimentel, George, 57-58, 64, 78  
 police, on campus, 43  
  
 Rafferty, Max, 93  
 Reagan, Ronald, 93  
 Riley, Donald A., 91, 96  
 Rogerson, Brewster, 19  
 Rossman, Michael, 47, 60-61, 63, 65-66  
  
 Salvadori, Max, 6  
 Savio, Mario, 36, 41, 50, 66  
 Scalapino, Robert, 40-41  
 Schachman, Howard, 15, 40, 51  
 Schorer, Mark, 52  
 Schorske, Carl, 22, 40, 51  
 Scott, Peter Dale, 56-58, 60, 69, 73, 78, 81-82, 93, 96  
 Searle, John, 38, 40, 44, 51  
 Sellers, Charles, 39, 69, 71, 73, 78, 81-82, 93, 96  
 Sewall, Richard Benson, 4  
 Sherriffs, Alex, 38  
 Smelser, Neil, 91  
 Smith, Henry Nash, 40, 51-52, 65  
 Smith, Page, 52  
 Smith, Virginia, 75  
 Sperry, Pauline, 24  
 Sproul, Robert Gordon, 17, 25-26  
 St. Albert's College, 21

St. John's College, 67  
 Stanford University, 50  
 Stewart, George, R., 28  
 Strong, Edward, 37, 41  
 student activism, 35-36. *See also* University of California, Berkeley  
  
 Taylor, Harold, 65  
 Temple Emanu-El, 21  
 Tolman, Edward, 13, 16, 18, 24  
 Tolman, Katherine Drew, 20  
 Towle, Katherine, 37  
 Trow Report, 79, 85, 86-88, 90, 94  
 Tussman, Joseph, 38-39, 55, 66-67, 69-70, 72, 75-77  
 Tuveson, Ernest, 52  
  
 undergraduate education, 47-49, 70, 79, 81; funding of, 91. *See also* University of California, Strawberry Creek College  
 University of California systemwide, Academic Senate, 49; All University conference, speech at, 48, 53, 55; tuition, 93  
 University of California, Berkeley, Academic Senate, 13-14, 26, 29, 31, 41-42, 46-48, 56, 61-63, 65, 70, 80, 95; Arts Club, 37; Board of Educational Development, 60-62, 70, 80, 96; Chicano Studies, 60; College of Letters and Science, 49-50, 55, 79, 83, 90-91; Committee of 200, 25, 40-42, 51; Council for Special Curricula, 60, 62, 71, 80; Department of English, 8-11, 13-14, 19-21, 28-29, 31-33, 35, 48-49, 51-52, 56, 62, 66, 75, 93-95; Department of Mathematics, 19; Emergency Executive Committee, 56; Ethnic Studies, 60; faculty wives, 17, 20; Filthy Speech Movement, 43-44; Free Speech Movement, 25, 30-31, 35-53, 60-61, 63, 65-66; freshman seminar program, 76, 95; Group for Academic Freedom, 15, 24-25; loyalty oath controversy, 2, 6, 13-31, 37-38, 40, 46, 50-51; Native American Studies, 60; Select Committee on Education, 47-49, 55-67, 70, 75-77, 80, 92, 96; Strawberry Creek College, 11, 38-39, 61, 66-67, 69-97; teaching assistants, 28, 67, 69-70, 72-74, 80, 82, 84-86, 88; tuition, 93; Women's Studies, 60, 96  
 University of California, Board of Regents, 16-18, 23, 28-29, 43

University of Michigan, residential college, 76  
*Uses of the University, The*, 52

Vermeulen, Theodore, 57-58  
 Vietnam War, 44-45, 47

Weigel, Stanley, 25  
 Weinberg, Jack, 36  
 Wesleyan University, 21-22, 27, 30, 50  
 Whitney, Deborah Tolman, 20  
 Wick, Gian Carlo, 24  
 Williams, Arleigh, 38-39  
 Wofsy, Leon, 51  
 World War II, 1, 4-7, 44

Yale University, 1-9, 17, 22, 29, 66; law school, 71,  
 88

Zelnick, Reginald, 40



GERMAINE LaBERGE

B.A. in European History, 1970, Manhattanville College  
Purchase, New York

M.A. in Education, 1971, Marygrove College  
Detroit, Michigan

Law Office Study, 1974-1978  
Member, State Bar of California since 1979 (inactive status)

Elementary School Teacher, Michigan and California, 1971-1975

Legal research and writing, 1978-1987

Senior Editor/ Interviewer in the Regional Oral History Office in fields of business, law, social issues, government and politics, water resources, and University history, 1987 to present. Project Director, East Bay Municipal Utility District Water Rights Project and California State Archives Oral History Program.









ROHO TRANSFERS TO BANCROFT

ONE SHEET PER TITLE.

TITLE: THE LOYALTY OATH, THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, AND EDUCATION REFORMS AT THE  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

SERIES: University History

COPYRIGHT YEAR: 2004

INTERVIEWEE(S): Charles Muscatine

INTERVIEWER(S): Germain LaBerge

ROHO Interviews X

Donated Oral History \_\_\_\_\_ Gift of: \_\_\_\_\_

UCLA Exchange \_\_\_\_\_

State Archives Exchange \_\_\_\_\_

Addition to: (Banc/Mss call#) \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Specify): \_\_\_\_\_

Materials sent to TBL Acquisitions Division

\_\_\_\_\_ 1 Copy of contracts  
\_\_\_\_\_ Copy of correspondence/acknowledgement of Donated Oral History  
\_\_\_\_\_ Donated Tapes Collection form(s)

\_\_\_\_\_ 1 Transcript *2005/173*  
\_\_\_\_\_ x, 109 pp.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Catalog description/RLIN form (for STARCH volumes)

\_\_\_\_\_ 1 Supplementary material (description attached)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Interview notes \_\_\_\_\_ Narrator-corrected transcript  
\_\_\_\_\_ Reports, newspapers, program of 1999 University Loyalty Oath Symposium.

**AUDIO**

\_\_\_\_\_ # of master cassettes deposited herewith  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of master minidisks deposited herewith  
*46* \_\_\_\_\_ 7 # of service copy cassettes deposited herewith  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of service copy audio CD-ROMs deposited herewith  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of 5" reels  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of 7" reels

**VIDEO**

\_\_\_\_\_ # of master mini-DV cassettes deposited herewith  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of master VHS cassettes deposited herewith  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of service copy mini-DV cassettes deposited herewith  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of service copy VHS cassettes deposited herewith

**PHOTOGRAPHS**

\_\_\_\_\_ # of prints  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of negatives  
\_\_\_\_\_ # of digital photo storage media (Specify)

Date: 02/02/05 Signature: *L. Barker*



Regional Oral History Office  
The Bancroft Library

University of California  
Berkeley, California 94720

I, Charles Muscatine, do hereby give  
(name)  
to The Regents of the University of California for such scholarly and  
educational uses as the Director of The Bancroft Library shall determine  
the following tape-recorded interview(s) recorded with me beginning on  
6-7-00  
\_\_\_\_\_ for The Bancroft Library as an unrestricted  
date(s)  
gift and transfer to the Regents of the University of California legal  
title and all literary property rights including copyright. This gift does  
not preclude any use which I may want to make of the information in the  
recordings myself.

This agreement may be revised or amended by mutual consent of the  
parties undersigned.

Charles Muscatine  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name & address of interviewee

Charles Muscatine  
2812 Buena Vista Way  
Berkeley, California 94708

570-848-6522  
Phone number of interviewee

June 7, 2000  
Date

[Signature]  
Regional Oral History Office  
The Bancroft Library

July 6, 2004  
Date

Subject of Interview(s) Loyalty Oath; University History

Approved as to Form, 4 March 1981











BANC

MSS

2005/170

C

U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C087700590

